

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1875.

The Week.

THE election in New Hampshire was remarkable, not so much for the closeness of the vote, which has thrown the choice of a governor into the hands of the legislature, and thus given it to the Republicans, as for the size of the vote cast. It was one of the largest votes ever cast in the State. In the House, the Republicans have a majority of half-a-dozen, while the Senate is almost, if not quite, evenly divided, and the Council contains three Democrats and two Republicans. The votes for each of the candidates for governor exceed 39,000, and are within a hundred of each other. The Prohibition vote was only 800 this year, falling off largely from last year through defection to the Republican ranks.

There is continued improvement in business, the unfavorable weather being the only important drawback. There has been a buoyant market for breadstuffs and provisions, and the gratifying feature of the situation is that prices have advanced because of the export demand rather than on account of speculation. The rise in the price of wheat will bring to market a vast amount, it being estimated that in the four States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska there is a stock of about 52,000,000 bushels. Corn and oats have both been high during the winter; the low price of wheat has kept it in the hands of the farmers; and the extent to which they have been able to get along without selling shows that as a class they are in easy circumstances. Trade with the Northwest ought to be good this spring, as well as safe, and the same is true in regard to other sections of the West. The receipts of cotton continue small, and thus far the crop has been a disappointment; but political troubles have more to do with the unsatisfactory condition of the Southern trade than has even the cotton crop. The outlook in regard to trade, taking the country together, is good, and the jobbers have done a better business during the past week than in any week this year. Credits are granted with caution, and collections are excellent. In Wall Street there has been a spirited speculation in shares and an advance in investments. The "gold clique" have made a demonstration against bank-reserves, and, by locking up gold, have forced up the rates to $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. for the use of gold a day. This so far unsettled the foreign exchanges as to lower rates for sterling bills to the point at which gold can be profitably imported from Europe.

Secretary Bristow surprised the Syndicate by including in his call for \$30,000,000 five-twenties only \$6,000,000 registered bonds, or all that remained uncalled of the issue of 1862. This call, which appeared on Thursday, was foreshadowed by semi-official notice on the preceding Monday, when it was given out, on the authority of the Syndicate bankers, and confirmed as late as Wednesday afternoon by Assistant-Secretary Conant, then in New York, that the call would be confined to registered bonds. It seems clear that such was Mr. Bristow's purpose, and that in it he was sustained by the President. The national banks, the largest holders of registered bonds, raised a great outcry at the proposed discrimination against their investments, and they were joined by other but less influential corporations. There is no reason to believe that Mr. Bristow was influenced by their clamor any more than he was by the pressure of the Syndicate bankers, who would, had none but registered bonds been called, have gained the advantage of a home market for a large amount of new fives, and have been benefited by the increased supply of gold in the market, of which it is understood they were "short." The real reason, and the one

given, for the change was that Mr. Bristow doubted whether, under the law, he had the right to call bonds out of their numbered order, and, being extremely cautious, was not disposed, in so important a matter, to take any risk. It is known that it was intended to insert a clause in the Appropriation Bill which passed March 3, specially authorizing the Secretary to call *any* of the five-twenty bonds during the present fiscal year. Whether this clause was incorporated in the bill is not certainly known, nor, if it was, whether it was so expressed as to secure the purpose for which it was designed.

Mr. Caleb Cushing has succeeded in making a settlement of the *Virginian* difficulty very creditable to himself and to Mr. Fish as negotiators. It will be remembered that Attorney-General Williams got the country into a very remarkable position with regard to the vessel herself, by taking the ground that the gist of the outrage consisted in the insult offered to the American flag—there being really no American flag in the case at all, but a piece of bunting which might as well have been that of the United Netherlands or the Achaian League. The Government was compelled to withdraw from this position and formally abandon all claim to the salute which was to have been fired by Spain as a *solatium*, and we should have had to give up the vessel herself had she not fortunately gone to the bottom on her way from Cuba. This was probably the luckiest thing that could have happened, for it left, as the only thing unsettled, the real outrage, the massacre of the prisoners; and apparently the advice of the Attorney-General has not been asked on this head. Spain has now agreed to pay the United States \$80,000 in coin in full satisfaction of this claim, the money to be distributed by the President among the families of the killed, or those otherwise interested, without our being obliged to give any account of the distribution to Spain. This differs from the English settlement, both in the amount to be paid—which in the English case was £500 for each white man and £300 for each colored man; in all, £7,700—and in the stipulation that no account shall be required.

Mr. Henry Wilson has written a letter on the Bounty Bill vetoed by the President, in which he says that all the estimates made by the enemies of the bill as to the amounts required under it have been erroneous. He says that it would not have required more than \$10,000,000 or \$12,000,000 during the first two years, nor more than \$63,000,000 in all. Some of its friends estimated it at \$29,000,000, the Second Auditor of the Treasury at \$59,000,000, the Paymaster-General at \$100,000,000, and we have seen another hostile calculation which put it as high as \$387,000,000. Mr. Wilson says that he does not regret voting for the bill, but he does not give any reason why the public should regret its failure to pass. Among other reasons for advocating it, he mentions the fact that "the pay and bounty when promised [in the early part of the war] were at gold rates, when the currency was at par, and when paid was not worth more than fifty cents on the dollar"; and at the end of his letter he intimates that while he regards the bonded debt of the country as sacred, he cannot forget that "when the nation promised the soldier his bounty, currency was at par, but when it was paid it was worth less than sixty cents on the dollar; while bonds bought with this money are now worth more than their face value in coin." Nevertheless, until some agreement can be arrived at as to how much money is needed to make the bounties equal, and until it is proved that the \$60,000,000 taken out of the Treasury under the law of 1866 has not equalized them, it seems hardly worth while to pass any new enactments.

There have been rumors during the week of Mr. Schenck's recall from London; and many people supposed that the 'Manual of Draw Poker' had probably done for him what his connection with

the Emma Mine had failed to do. But they have, within the last day or two, been boldly if not authoritatively contradicted. It may be said, judging from experience, that there is little or no chance of his retirement as long as he is the object of attack in the press, no matter of what offences he may be guilty. No scandal or misdemeanor, in fact, seems so formidable to the Administration as the appearance of yielding to "newspaper clamor." This was very fully demonstrated in Richardson's case, and he would probably have been retained to this day in any other office than the Treasury. But, we must say, we see nothing in the poker manual which will ruin a man who has served with impunity as director and trustee of the Emma Mine. We venture to assert that Mr. Schenck will not come home at present, and that there are members of the President's circle who would chuckle if they heard that our Minister in London had taught the British aristocracy to play poker and then "cleaned them out." We must not look in that quarter for great moral sensitiveness, or much patriotic pride on the moral side.

Mr. Christiancy has marked his entrance to the Senate by an able speech, which he read, on the ground that he had in his eighteen years on the bench in Michigan lost the habit of extemporaneous oratory. His subject was Pinchback and the Louisiana question, in which he touched the root of the difficulty admirably by saying the President was not bound to recognize a *de facto* government (Kellogg) which he had himself set up. This is the exact truth of the matter. Kellogg and his legislature were thrust into power by the United States troops, acting under the orders of the marshal, who did the canvassing himself. These facts, which occurred two years ago, have been conveniently overlooked by the Administration side in the late discussions, and a great deal of sympathy, which might have been turned to better account, has been expended on the President because he had Kellogg on his hands and the wicked Congress refused to take the responsibility of him. The fact is that Kellogg is the President's creature and that of the faithful Mr. Williams, and the complaints which have come from them both about having to "carry" Kellogg, as the slang phrase now runs, ought to be jocular in order not to be something more offensive. Mr. Christiancy's exposition was very distressing to Messrs. Boutwell and Logan, who both concluded that the rash man had gone over to the Democrats. Mr. Boutwell takes a very dark view indeed of the situation, and expects, it is said, another bloody war, as does his friend Butler. They, like many other statesmen, are probably asking themselves what will become of them if the country should settle down into peace and legality.

We hope that the "gag-law" may before long get before the Supreme Court, and that an authoritative announcement of the law of libel, as it affects newspaper correspondents, be given. The Buell case has been decided by Judge Treat, but the decision, as given in the newspapers, leaves the question still open. Buell was a Washington correspondent of the *Detroit Free Press*, and sent a despatch regarding Senator Chandler for which he was indicted by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia Criminal Court, and he having, meantime, gone out of the District, the question arose whether he could, under the "gag-law," be brought back. Buell was arrested on a warrant issued by a United States Commissioner in St. Louis, and the case came before Judge Treat of the United States District Court. The Judge has apparently decided what has always been very clear—that the "gag-law" had no application to such cases; but the matter went off on a flaw in the indictment, which alleged that the libel was "composed" in the District of Columbia, and that it was "published" in Michigan. The place of publication, and not of composition, being the critical thing, the indictment was ruled defective. During the proceedings, however, it was intimated in court that the Attorney-General had devised a new way of getting hold of offending editors and correspondents by means of a "bench-warrant" issued by the Supreme Court of

the United States; and that this instrument, which promises to be of as general usefulness as a "writ of assistance" promised to be in New York a few years ago, will hold the offender in spite of any writ of habeas corpus issued by an inferior court. This may seem too monstrous for belief; but after the arrest of the editor of the *Tribune* while subpoenaed before a committee of Congress as a witness, we do not know what to expect.

The proceedings of the "Honorable William S. King," member of Congress from Minnesota, to which we called attention some weeks ago, are still highly entertaining. He refused, our readers may remember, to appear before the Congressional Committee on the Pacific Mail enquiry, to tell what he had done with a large amount of alleged corruption-money which was traced to his possession. The Minnesota Legislature in vain besought him by resolution to turn up and save the "escutcheon of the State" from being stained. Far from complying, he took refuge on a stock-farm in Northern Canada, on the edge of the Arctic wilderness, carrying the escutcheon of the State with him, and was there "staining" it at his leisure, when he was, to his great surprise, discovered by the Sergeant-at-Arms, who served a summons on him, at which the Honorable William only laughed. As soon as Congress adjourned, however, he reappeared at Washington, where his first act was to demand from Mr. Jewell the dismissal of the postmaster at Minneapolis. This was, however, carrying his peculiar vein of impudence a little too far, and in spite of the abolition of civil-service reform, his request was refused. Now, there are two considerations of some moment suggested by Mr. King's career. One is, that here is a man who has been a good while in politics, widely known, and thoroughly appreciated, who held the office of postmaster to the House in the Forty-second Congress we believe, and has just been elected to the Forty-fourth Congress, and who, when accused on strong evidence of complicity in gross corruption and malversation of funds, absconds, and is amused by the call of his constituents that he should appear, and in fact displays just as much contempt for public opinion and for the law as any thief who is now hiding from the police in this city. The other is, that, although this man's words and manners are undoubtedly those of a large and growing school of politicians, there are a great number of respectable people to be found who join with them in spreading the belief that it is the newspapers that make American public life look so dark, and that if it was not for the lies and vituperation of reporters, our public men would be held in greater respect. We are shocked by King's tricks, and startled when he demands his share of the "patronage" on his return from his concealment; but King is the product of a state of things which the press has not created, and, in our belief, has not half exposed.

We have at last an "American Cardinal" in the person of Archbishop McCloskey, who was raised to the dignity on Monday with Archbishop Manning and Archbishop Ledochowski, who has been having so much trouble with the German Government. But these three foreign appointments were all but counterbalanced by those of two Italian Monsignori—Giannelli and Bartolini; and there are to be five other Italian cardinals appointed, so that the Italian element will still continue to dominate in the Conclave. This was a necessity, perhaps, before the recent improvements in the means of communication; but it has now become an abuse of which foreign Catholics are growing more and more impatient. The most interesting feature in the matter for anybody outside the Catholic Church is that it creates the possibility of a participation of a representative of the United States in the next Papal election, at which so many new influences will come into play. One of the points on which public curiosity will be aroused will be the willingness or ability of France, Austria, and Spain to use their ancient right of "exclusion"—that is, of ruling out, each, one cardinal from the competition. The relations of all these powers to the Holy See have greatly changed since the accession of Pius IX., and it

may be that, in spite of Bismarck's instigation, they will attempt no interference.

The Wisconsin Legislature has modified the "Potter Law" so as to allow the railroads to earn a little more money, but has not changed the principle of the act. The Commissioners who have been investigating the railroad problem during the past year have recently made their report, which, though containing a great deal of statistical information of one kind and another, is so obviously the result of "cramming" that it can hardly be said to be an addition of any great importance to railroad literature. The Commissioners submit to the people of Wisconsin the following conclusions: That the only form of railway control likely to prove successful, "under present conditions," is "the legislative, supplemented by direct supervision" (by a commission); that this method requires, first, a determination of the cash value of all the roads; second, an annual determination of the earnings; third, a division of the roads into two classes, the first class embracing roads paying a "reasonable" compensation or valuation—second, all other roads; fourth, a maximum of rates, subject to legislative revision, for the first class; fifth, no restriction of rates for the second class, except in cases of unjust discriminations; sixth, prohibition of discrimination and extortion, cases to be tried by the commission; seventh, additional police regulations; eighth, power on the part of the commission to require repairs and improvements; ninth, publicity of rates; tenth, publicity of contracts; eleventh, uniform and full accounts; twelfth and thirteenth, efficient means for enforcement of the laws. With regard to the actual condition of the Wisconsin roads, the Commissioners find that there are only two companies which come near raising an adequate income on their cost; one of them, the iniquitous St. Paul Company, the Commissioners are inclined to think earns the enormous income of 7 per cent. on its Wisconsin lines, though its net earnings are 4.67 per cent. on the cost of the whole road, as reported by the Company, while its balance, after paying interest on its bonds, is 2.21 per cent.

The Grangers' year in Minnesota has given the Commissioners of that State food for deeper reflection than it has the Board in Wisconsin. They found that there were in Minnesota 1,900 miles of railroad, with a stock of \$31,000,000, and a funded debt of \$86,000,000 and a floating debt of \$6,000,000. The stock and debt together amounted to the comfortable figure of \$52,000 a mile, the working expenses were sixty-nine per cent., and the net earnings \$1,894,800. Subtracting taxes, the net earnings amounted to \$928 a mile, or less than two per cent. on the stock and bonds and less than three per cent. on the bonds alone. The roads paid, as interest on their debt, \$1,969,331, or \$245,171 more than the total net earnings, and only about one-third of the interest due was paid. The Commissioners had been directed by the legislature to determine "reasonable maximum rates," but in their report they say that they found great difficulty in doing so, "for the reason that the tariffs established by the companies themselves, except the River Division of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Company, have not produced revenues that were at all remunerative." Nevertheless, they went to work like men and made reductions which "reduced the receipts of the roads about \$300,000," and indeed they think this is rather an underestimate. The Commissioners discovered in the course of their enquiries that the Granger panacea of fixing equal rates for equal distances, leaving out of view the important fact that the cost of transportation depends on many other things besides distance, is no panacea at all, but is in certain cases "unequal and objectionable." Reflecting on these singular facts, the people of Minnesota have come to the conclusion, that while the Commissioners as investigators and students have done the State great credit, they cannot be expected to do much in the way of lowering rates, and have very wisely destroyed the commission and left in office only one member of it, with advisory and investigatory powers only.

The text of the new French Constitution has come out by late mails, but does not differ in any important particular from the telegraphic summary. The composition of the Senate is as we have already given it, the Assembly electing seventy-five of the three hundred members for life; and they are all to serve without pay—an important provision, as it will prevent the Senate from becoming a kind of hospital for broken-down politicians. The President of the Republic is to be elected by a majority of both Senate and Assembly in joint convention, and he is to have the power of dissolving the Assembly, with the advice and consent of the Senate. He may propose a revision of the Constitution, as may either branch of the legislature, but no such revision is to be allowable until after the close of Marshal MacMahon's term of office. The President is to be impeachable for high treason, but for nothing else; he is eligible for any number of terms of seven years; and in case of his death his place is to be filled in the usual manner by a new election, the Council of Ministers exercising the executive powers in the interval. The seat of government is hereafter to be at Versailles and not Paris—a most desirable change, which, if made fifty years ago, might have modified for the better the course of French history. Of course, it cannot yet be said that France is really a republic, and the provisional régime at an end, for we have to see the Senate chosen, a new Assembly elected, and MacMahon's successor in his place, before it will be possible to speak confidently about the future. Two striking facts have been revealed by the debates. The first and most important is the growth of the Left in a political sense. They have, for the first time in French history, shown the wisdom which consists in taking what you can get when you cannot have what you want. The second is the anxiety of the Bonapartists to refer everything to universal suffrage, and the reluctance of the Republicans to meet them on this ground. The former are still very hopeful, and have been stimulated in audacity by the appearance of the Prince Imperial on the scene.

The rumors about Bismarck's approaching retirement from public life are as numerous as ever, but they have as yet received no confirmation. Besides his health, the only plausible reason for his resigning is the recent defeat of the Government in the Lower House, on a motion made by the well-known Professor Virchow, providing for the extension of the reform in county government made two years ago to the Rhine Provinces and that of Posen, which were then excepted from the operation of the law. The resolution was carried by a heavy majority, but as there is no "solidarity" in the Prussian Ministry, or, in other words, as the Cabinet does not stand or fall together as a corporation, there is no good German reason why Bismarck should be troubled by this, much less resign the Chancellorship. Posen was excepted for prudential reasons, being Polish, and the Rhine Provinces because they have had French administrative machinery ever since Napoleon's day. The reform in question is a process of consolidation, in the interest of simplification. The local administration has hitherto been divided between the president of the province, the president of the Bezirk or county, and the Landrath of the Kreis or conglomeration of parishes. The Kreis had an elective committee which aided and controlled the president of the county, but he is now made independent in most respects, and has complete control of the police, the elections, and the roads, but loses his supervision of the schools, which are to be specially provided for. The president of the province, on the other hand, who more distinctly represents the general government, is to be assisted by an elected committee, whom he is bound to consult in certain specified cases. The general tendency of all this legislation is to reserve the army and the higher offices of the state to the nobility, but to hand over the great bulk of the administrative work to unpaid officers taken from or chosen by the middle and lower class—a measure which not only diminishes expense, but gives the *bourgeoisie* the habits of political life, the want of which has been hitherto the great difficulty in the way of German political progress.

THE POLITICAL PROSPECT.

IT has become tolerably plain within the last three months that, although the Republicans have done nothing to retrieve their position, the Democrats have done nothing to better theirs. The Force Bill, the Bounty Bill, the restoration in part of the franking privilege, and the child's play over the Tax Bill, satisfied most of those who voted against the party in power last fall that they had done right. On the other hand, the Democrats appear to have made no serious effort to follow up their success. Their selections of members of the House and of the Senate have generally been objectionable on some score. They have either been persons whose antecedents were odious, or whose opinions on the currency or some other leading topic of the day were likely to cause alarm or anxiety. The substitution of Cockrell for Schurz without the least hesitation, and indeed, one may say, without discussion, has been a fair sample in most ways of the use the party has made of its returning strength. But it is difficult to point to anything that has been done by it which is positively or outrageously bad. Indeed, its public utterances have, on the whole, been careful and reassuring. But the country is not satisfied with utterances or with the avoidance of outrageous acts. The character of the party is such that to regain people's confidence it must do more than keep out of scrapes. This is all that it has thus far attempted.

This failure of the Democrats to use their opportunities has prevented Republicans from suffering as much from their misconduct as they would otherwise have done, and they have even derived a certain amount of credit from their failure to carry out their desperate schemes. There are plenty of Republicans with whom the memories of the war are still so strong, that the defeat of the party in its attempt to suspend the habeas corpus in time of peace produces much the same effect on them as if it were the Democrats that had introduced this bill, and as if the Republicans had opposed it from the beginning. Their indulgence for the President, too, is so great that his announcement of his desire to overthrow the government of the State of Arkansas, in the interest of a ring of jobbers, is fully compensated for by his submission to the resolution of Congress forbidding his interference; and when he announces that he "recognizes" Governor Garland, they feel as grateful to him as if Garland held his place at his pleasure or needed this "recognition." In fact, there is no end to the odd and illogical condition of feeling which the great struggle has left behind it. One every now and then meets with even thoughtful and intelligent men, from whose minds the civil war has apparently blotted out all remembrance of the marvellousness of the combination of circumstances to which we owe the government under which we live, and who are as ready to change its structure as if one could any day go and order a new one at the watchmaker's. To make it what it is, and to create the habits and traditions which uphold it, has taken fully three hundred years, two great revolutions, and the untiring labor and patience and self-denial and forethought of ten generations of one of the foremost races of the world. The struggles which we in our own day see other countries going through, in their efforts to produce something even remotely resembling it, may serve to give us a slight, but only a slight, conception of its value—for that value is simply incalculable. And yet so deeply has the popular heart been stirred by the passions of the late conflict, that many of us are willing to excuse an attempt to overturn it—for we can hardly call the Force Bill anything else—as a mere police measure. To pay off the slaveholder and make the negro a little more comfortable, some of us are willing to tear down the very shelter which either we or they possess against the pelting of storms against which only a small portion of the human race has ever been able to make head.

This is a state of mind which the Democrats do not take sufficiently into account. They have never taken it into account, and, indeed, have shown in their political action so little ability to comprehend it ever since 1861, that one is almost driven to the conclusion that it is a difference of temperament, rather than of opinion, which separates them from the Republicans. The moment there is

the slightest sign of relaxation in Republican fervor, they start up and behave as if the ideas, or illusions, if they prefer the word, on which the Republican party was based had lost all their force, or as if all its members were ready to acknowledge that the history of the last twenty years was a hideous mistake. In 1872, the symptoms of discontent which produced the Cincinnati Convention, which wise men in opposition would have turned to account, seemed to rob the leaders of the Opposition of even common-sense. So far from perceiving the gravity of the mistake made by the nomination of Greeley, and the extent of the disappointment produced by it, they went to work deliberately to adopt it, with numerous aggravations, and took great pains to show that they were, on the whole, more foolish than the "Liberals"—thus completely disgusting and driving off that large and growing body of thoughtful Republicans for whom four years of General Grant was enough, and who foresaw clearly, even then, the excesses of which that gentleman and his followers have been guilty, and who would now, with proper management, have been ready to co-operate with them. We do not mean to say that they have learnt nothing since then. On the contrary, we think they have learnt a great deal. Their language is vastly more moderate and their nominations have grown more respectable. Their leading men—Tilden, Bayard, Thurman, for instance—will certainly compare very well with anything the Republican party has to show; but they, nevertheless, do not seem yet sufficiently sensible of the difficulties they have to contend with, or, if they are sensible of them, their powers of contending are not equal to the occasion.

The general result of the events of the last three months may therefore, we think, be said to be that, though the Republicans have not made any additional losses, the Democrats have made no additional gains. The Republican rejoicings over the result in New Hampshire have been, not inaptly, compared by the *World* to the glee of a man who had just lost a large fortune over the finding of a cent; but, nevertheless, they are easily accounted for by the fact that the election shows that the follies of the majority in Congress during the past winter have not done as much damage as might have been expected. It has probably finally convinced most Republican politicians that a formal repudiation of the third-term scheme will hereafter be necessary in every canvass in order to escape defeat, to say nothing of winning a victory. This will in some degree simplify the Republican programme, but only in some degree; for there appears to be good reason for believing that the President approaches this matter from a totally different point from the rest of the world, and that the construction he puts on the New Hampshire election is, not that the disavowal of the third term saved the party from total defeat, but that it prevented a complete victory; and we believe there is nobody now whose opinion on such a point he rates higher than his own. This makes it extremely likely that the Republican Convention in 1876 will bear deeply the impress of his will. In other words, it will be composed largely of men ready either to renominate him, or nominate somebody whom he may designate for the succession, and relying a good deal more for success on the party machinery, including the civil service, than on public opinion. We have ourselves no doubt that the recent abolition of the civil-service rules is the first step in the canvass. These rules were instituted with a view to a renomination in 1872, and, in the then state of the public mind, this was a very shrewd and successful move, particularly as they were never allowed to interfere with the serious work of party management. If anybody complained of their violation in a particular place, he was told that they had not as yet been put in force at that point; or if he detected their violation at a point at which they had been unquestionably and publicly put in force, he was informed that the President was doing as well as he could; that nobody but himself knew the difficulties he had to contend with; that Rome was not built in a day; and that it was the duty of patriotic men to stand by him instead of grumbling. This particular line of operation having been now exhausted, the rules have been swept away altogether, pre-

paratory, as we believe, to an unflinching use of every department of the public service in the composition of the next nominating convention. There is, therefore, imminent danger that the nominee may be either General Grant himself, or somebody selected by him; and one would be as bad as the other.

Should either of these things happen, there will arise the danger that the Democrats, on their side, will be encouraged by it into the commission of a similar excess—that is, that they will presume sufficiently on Republican dissatisfaction to put up an inferior or obnoxious man, who would plunge the country once more into a struggle like that of 1872, over a “choice of evils,” perhaps as demoralizing an experience as a political community can go through, because it kills, or chills, all hope or enthusiasm for positive advance or improvement, and disposes men to content themselves, as the part of wisdom, with anything which seems likely “to last their time.” Already a good many Republicans whose hearts are really in reform are actually committing themselves to the Democrats, in anticipation of the control of the Republican machinery by the President; and, unless that functionary should greatly grow in grace between now and next year, the number of these faint-hearted is pretty sure to increase. There is only one way both of checking this and of warning both parties that their old tricks must not be repeated, and that is the preparation of some such expression of opinion on the part of the reform element in the Republican party as will force both conventions into giving us not a choice of evils, but a choice of goods—or, in other words, compel them to make good nominations. About their platforms nobody, after the experience of the last two years, cares anything. The Republican platform at Philadelphia has proved a shameless piece of imposture. The managers ought to understand that its repetition will be of no particular use to them, but about this the country is willing to let them take their own course. They may nominate on what platform they please. A chapter from Artemus Ward would do as well as anything they are likely to draw up. What honest men will insist on is that the candidate must be a man of high character—sufficiently high to be able to follow his own judgment—who understands civil government, has been bred in American political traditions and reverences them, and who is pure, and likely to remain pure, in money matters. We want an end to two things—corruption and lawlessness.

A STUDY IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

THE difficulties which attend all efforts to secure good administration in New York are nowhere better seen than in the case of the Department of Charities and Corrections in this city. In most of the branches of the government, in the Courts, in the Public Works, in the Fire Department, the “machine” runs of itself, without any outside supervision, except, perhaps, at rare intervals. Now and then some gross abuse of justice, such as were rife during the Barnard-Cardozo régime, may arouse popular indignation, and produce a thoroughgoing reform; here and there an extreme case of reckless inhumanity, like that of the arrest of a poor paralytic, and his imprisonment on a false charge concocted by the officers of justice, ending in his death, may lead to an investigation, a newspaper exposure, and make people wonder for a day or two who it is that governs them, and whether they really have themselves anything to do with the matter. But, in most cases, this storm soon blows over and everything goes on as before; indeed, in most cases there is no storm at all. The Department of Charities and Corrections is, however, differently situated. This Department, which has under its charge the entire body of penal and reformatory institutions, work-houses, prisons, hospitals, and school-ships, belonging to the city, is subject in theory to constant and active supervision, so that more ought to be known about it than about any other part of the government.

The Department is managed by three Commissioners appointed by the Mayor, who have the general care of the victualling, lighting, cleaning, maintenance, and discipline of all the public institutions. They appoint all the inferior officers, all the wardens, phy-

sicians, and orderlies; they make contracts for and purchase all the food and clothing; they have in certain cases judicial authority. To secure efficient and responsible men for these positions, all sorts of checks and safeguards have been devised. The reformers who drew up the present charter of the city, wisely acting upon the presumption (which seems to have governed them throughout) that its officials must be considered dishonest in the absence of distinct proof that they are honest, have surrounded all their powers over contracts for supplies—the usual source of corruption—with formalities and safeguards so numerous and solemn as almost to give the ratification of a contract of this sort the solemnity of a religious rite. Some half-dozen different steps, each one formal but essential, are necessary to make binding the purchase of a few hundred pounds of beef, and these steps are directed, first, to making all purchases public, in open market, and, second, to securing for all contracts the express approval of the chief fiscal officer of the city. The late Commissioners, who were turned out of office the other day for permitting Tweed the use of his cottage-furniture, evaded these provisions, or rather violated them directly, because they maintained that the system was too complicated; that for contracts subject to such onerous restrictions the best class of merchants would not bid. Whether this was true or not, the new Commissioners, we understand, faithfully comply with the letter of the charter, though we have been told by one of them that this compliance is bad for the public interest. Whether bad or good, there can be no doubt that the most stringent checks have been thrown around their action to prevent dishonesty.

That Commissioners of Charities and Corrections, however, should be honest, though a *sine quâ non*, is not by any means the only important thing. The discipline and encouragement of penal and reformatory institutions, as well as hospitals, have been of late years systematically studied by philanthropists and physicians, so that we may almost say its theory has reached the rank of a progressive science. To instance merely one or two matters: the Irish prison-system, so-called, has revolutionized the principles of prison discipline by demonstrating the possibility of making penal institutions really reformatory; the researches prosecuted by means of criminal statistics have thrown a startling light upon the heritability of criminal tendencies; enquiries prosecuted into the subsequent lives of children who have been sent out into the world from public institutions have brought out in a very strong way the effect of these very reformatory institutions as nurseries of crime, while experiments in Germany have proved the possibility of doing away with them almost altogether. Researches into the principles of hospital construction have revealed radical errors in existing methods, and proved that many buildings which have been the boast and pride of this city for years are in reality hotbeds of disease, and should—if the health of the city is considered—be not improved, but removed as public nuisances. As a matter of fact, the public institutions of New York are by no means the best illustrations in the world of the application of the results of science to the cure of crime and disease; and for this reason the Commissioners need to be men who are not only thoroughly conversant with the existing knowledge on the subject, but have a good deal of reformatory zeal also.

The idea of a Commissioner of Charities in New York being a man who is thoroughly informed as to the duties of his office is so ludicrous that it is not worth while discussing it. He receives a salary not large enough to enable him to devote all his attention to them, and he is selected on account of his political affiliations. What politics means in this office we may see by reflecting that, during the incumbency of the Reform Commissioners appointed by Mayor Havemeyer, the question chiefly before the Board was not whether there might be improvements in hospital construction, not whether “institutionizing children” was a good system, but whether Tweed, a notorious malefactor on Blackwell’s Island, should have a set of cottage furniture and a private library. This question was not a simple one; it was a matter of life and death to the Commissioners whether they decided it wrongly or rightly. They decided

it wrongly, and were turned out of office, and a new board installed in their stead.

As we said at the outset, this Board, which has in its charge the most sacred trust the city confides to any one, is in theory a public institution, and subject to the attentive supervision of a body known as the "State Board of Charities"; and of course publicity with regard to the doings of such a commission is as essential as honesty or intelligence. But, if any one desires to find out anything about its operations, its intentions, aims, methods of appointment, etc., we can assure him that he will find it extremely difficult. We have before us the last published report of this body that is known to exist. It appeared in 1870, and if any reports have been made since, we do not know where they are to be seen. Every year at about this time a good deal of information does get out and is discussed in the newspapers, but it comes from a voluntary association of humane people, known as the State Charities Aid Association, who examine from time to time into the condition of these institutions; but they have no authority over the employés; they cannot compel investigation into the behavior of officials; and, in short, they have no means at their disposal of effecting anything except by persuasion or by the force of public opinion. As an illustration of the difficulties with which they have to contend, we may cite an instance given in the last annual report of the local New York Visiting Committee. In the summer of 1873, Mr. William Rathbone of Liverpool, founder of the Liverpool training-school for nurses, offered to send to New York for one of the hospitals a superintendent and her assistant, with six trained nurses. The whole staff had been trained at Mr. Rathbone's expense, at a cost of a thousand dollars; and the importance of getting them here may be inferred from the simple fact that, till within a year or two, trained nurses have had no existence in the United States—the only kind procurable for public institutions being women "sent up" for debauchery or disorderly conduct. This local New York volunteer committee agreed to pay the passage of these nurses to this country if, on their arrival, the Commissioners would appoint them to one of the hospitals. One of the Commissioners was disposed to accept the proposal; the other two declined, on the ground that "it would not do to import foreigners to do our work."

But politics, meantime, goes bravely on. In the last five years there have been three, if not more, Boards of Commissioners. The last two were twice "investigated," and the whole Department has been so thoroughly and persistently reformed that at its head now we find Mr. Isaac H. Bailey, an ex-Custom-house politician, whose qualifications for the place may be guessed at. In August last the entire medical board of one of the principal hospitals was reorganized, and within the past week or two it has been reorganized back again. Every year, we believe, a report on the condition of the charitable institutions is read by this volunteer committee to the Commissioners, and listened to by them with great solemnity, but in complete silence, which is undoubtedly the best way of "meeting criticism." Such is the machine. And the reason why it is such is that the city charities, like other city institutions, are managed with the view of securing votes and rewarding "workers," and they cannot under the present system be used for anything else.

A STUDY OF TOWN-MEETING LEGISLATION.

THE BRIGHT SIDE.

A PROLONGED continuance of the present condition of our national politics can hardly be enthusiastically advocated by anybody. Indeed, a considerable amount of determined optimism is quite essential to all believers in "the great future of American democracy," and, even with this in store, a man should receive "some credit for being jolly" under present circumstances. One need not be of gloomy temperament to think it may become necessary to provide a Jeremiah to chant lamentations after the singing of the centennial hymn. Not only do the conflicting elements of some troublesome questions place their solution outside the limits of ordinary prophecy, but there are also many active political tendencies so thoroughly bad that it is only a perception of the probable growth of counteracting influences that can cause a looker-on to be hopeful of the result.

Are we always to be astounded by giant schemes for "internal improvement," and, if so, are their accompaniments always to be like those of Pacific Mail, El Paso, and the Crédit Mobilier? Must we for ever hammer away on the tariff—welding, broadening, contracting? Will the currency problem ever be put on the right track, and kept there, not to be thrown off by an inflation-switch at the next Congressional crossing? Will Reconstruction end in anything reconstructed, or is it an everlasting process, in which nothing can ever "stay put"? There are perhaps a dozen different matters, the fruitless discussion of which occupies at least eight-tenths of the time of Congress, all of which matters many voters would like to have decided, if possible, in accordance with general principles—so thoroughly disposed of, in fact, that they would for ever cease to be political issues, and be heard of, if at all, only in the courts. Nevertheless, we do not believe the time has yet come for a correct solution of many of these disturbing problems of our politics. It is no disparagement of the average intelligence to say that the people of this country have not yet formed any definite opinion with regard to the proper settlement of many of these matters. It is quite probable that the majority of voters to-day do not believe it is possible, for instance, to dispose of the railroad question, or the tariff question, or the currency question, in the light of general principles, but believe that we must continue to do the best we can from year to year, each succeeding Congress correcting as much as possible the blunders of its predecessor. There are probably very few people who have any belief whatever in a science of legislation. But there are very many, and the number daily increases, who believe that study and reflection are of value as helps to something better than the haphazard legislation in which we have of late so much indulged. These last will agree with us that even a town-meeting may throw light on some questions of national interest. The town has been called the unit of our political system, and, if the whole exhibit the character of its parts, its political methods should be studied before those of the country at large. Besides, where the field is so small that all portions can be viewed at once, some relations may be understood which would escape notice altogether where the field is the nation.

Most New England towns still exhibit that same simplicity of organization with which all have become familiar in De Tocqueville's well-known description. The inhabitants are of the same descent, traditions, and religious feelings, are engaged in the same occupations, and their interests are almost absolutely identical. Naturally given to order, sobriety, and economy, they need only that which they already possess—a simple form of self-government. We are speaking now only of the agricultural towns, some of which are, in fact, so purely bucolic that under the name of farmer may be placed almost every man within their borders. We thought once that we had reached the limit of sameness when, in New Hampshire, we found a town all the men of which were farmers, with the exception of two—the regular Puritan minister, who also taught school, and a store-keeper, who was also postmaster; but the very next town had not even a minister, and the postmaster was also a farmer. The only political change in these towns for many years is that "the parish committee, who audit the expenses for public worship," no longer exist, each sect now paying its own expenses. At the annual meetings of these small and homogeneous communities, voters divide upon the choice of chairman or "moderator," the selectmen, the assessor, and other town officers, the representative to the State Legislature, and the amount of money to be paid for teaching and for road repairs. Once in a generation, perhaps, some great question—the building of a town-hall or the purchase of a new cemetery—may create unusual contention. It is hardly possible for these little and monotonous towns to furnish any hint whatever for the conduct of national affairs. If the whole nation had a similar homogeneous population, with the same circumscribed pursuits, with the same feelings, from those of religion to those which control the government of a poor-house, and with identical public aims—the preservation of order, the repair of roads, and provision for elementary education—we should need no theory of legislation. Conflicting interests are scarcely conceivable where all desire to procure essentially the same things, and are willing to vote the taxes necessary to procure them. It is only when we pass from these agricultural towns to other towns in which the character and interests of the people have become almost as heterogeneous as has the nation itself, that we feel any necessity for a system of legislation, or are tempted to wish for a definite science of government. In these latter towns, self-government passes with wonderful and almost imperceptible rapidity into something closely akin to despotism, and this transition furnishes a theme for useful reflection.

For the sake of unity and greater distinctness, we shall confine our description and illustrations to one large inland town of about ten thousand inhabitants. Here the farmer is slowly disappearing. Already manu-

facturer, mechanic, and merchant either outnumber him or obscure him by superior activity. Running streams have built cotton and paper mills, and these have brought in the Irishman and the French Canadian, so that the Calvinist walks to town-meeting with the Catholic, and both shake hands with the modern rationalist as they ask him how he intends to vote on the proposed town loan to the new railroad. Notwithstanding the different nationalities represented and the varieties of character to be found, the old New England element is yet largely predominant, and, for special reasons which need not be here given, the Puritan traditions are cherished with peculiar strength of feeling.

The annual meeting is held in a bare and uncomfortable hall, a facsimile of which is to be found in all New England towns. This one, however, is larger than the average, seating from seven hundred to a thousand persons, the number in attendance sometimes reaching this latter limit. A few of our readers may need to be reminded that these meetings are called by the selectmen, the trustees, or principal executive body of the town, who issue a "warrant," giving the time of meeting, and stating the various questions upon which the decision of voters will be required. Only subjects specified in this warrant can properly be brought before the meeting. All therefore are forewarned of the business to be introduced, and, the principal topics having been pretty well talked over in homes and stores, all come to the meeting with at least some preparation for voting understandingly.

The scene, to an observer, is thoroughly interesting. Here are perhaps eight hundred men, who give unflinching attention to all the proceedings. Every man present knows something of every question presented, and very few would shrink from giving expression to an opinion if needed. The town is wealthy, and the subjects discussed sometimes involve an outlay of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Under these circumstances, the character and tone of the discussions are most admirable, and the amount of business done, and well done, is really wonderful, compared with the experience of other legislative bodies. The speeches are straightforward, pointed, short, and are generally positive contributions to the debates. Very few speeches are made for show, and oratorical embellishments are seldom well received. Buncombe is a deadly sin. We were present once (the question referring to the election of a town surveyor, many wishing to return to a former system of district supervision) when a speaker began with, "It has been said, sir, that revolutions never go backward"; but in extenuation of this unusual declamation it should be explained that the speaker was a lawyer and an ex-member of Congress. Not only are the subjects of universal personal interest, and the speeches more liable, therefore, to be direct expressions of opinions, but the economical New Englander always wishes to finish town business in one day, if possible. He is willing to give this amount of time from his customary occupations, but more than this he begrudges; hence another reason for his impatience of all useless rhetoric. The attention given to all proceedings is almost church-like; there is no writing or wandering about the hall, and very little private conversation. In consequence of this attention, every slip which a speaker may make in statement of fact is taken advantage of immediately, and attempts to screen personal interest in any subject are exposed in a manner which to tender sensibilities must seem positively cruel. Notwithstanding the business-like tone of most of the proceedings, there is always a keen enjoyment of sharp replies and of those personal hits made so easy by the intimate acquaintanceship of long-time neighbors. There is little real humor, though always some, and the wit is severe rather than delicate. A man, for instance, begins a rambling, querulous talk about a certain road near his house which is not in good order. After waiting long enough to ascertain that this complaint is all he really has to say, he is interrupted by the question, "Why didn't you tell the surveyor and have the thing fixed, instead of waiting until town-meeting and coming here to complain?" The laugh which follows this question effectually ends his complaint. Again, the town-clock is out of order. For generations this clock has been in the steeple of the old town-church, the preacher of which has lately been suspected of heresy. Immediately a number of suggestions are offered, all of which connect the irregularities of the old clock with the supposed irregularities in the theology taught below. These hits are evidently intensely enjoyed, but to an outsider, it must be confessed, they are somewhat dreary. While the speaking, as at all large public meetings, is mostly done by a few, yet these few appear to be recognized as only convenient mouthpieces; for they are rigorously criticised, and are plied with questions from all parts of the hall. These questions are usually put in parliamentary form, and parliamentary rules are quite strictly adhered to throughout, the moderator being chosen generally with reference to his knowledge of them, and his ability to enforce them. National politics do not enter at all into the discussions, nor do they seem in any way to influ-

ence opinions upon town matters, and State politics are recognized only in the election of a representative to the Legislature. One of the most striking characteristics of these meetings is the unflinching good temper manifested by every one who takes part. In this respect we know of few other legislative bodies which can compare with them. We have been present when exciting subjects were debated, and when personal feeling ran very high indeed; but we have never seen a speaker give way to passion, or indulge in that vituperative blackguardism so common in other places. In view of the frequent occurrence of a "tumult" in the French Assembly, or a "row" in our own Congress, the genuine decorum of these townsmen is doubly admirable.

It is with regret (tempered, however, by some things to be explained hereafter) that we announce the approaching end of these long-continued meetings. The town, doubtless, will soon apply for a city charter, and the old hall will give place to a building befitting a more pretentious form of government. Already Mr. Patrick Malloney is getting ready to run for the common council, and the speculator is marking street lines and laying out lots. Whatever advantages may be gained by the change from town to city government, no old resident at least, and we think few others, will deny that the bright side of town-meeting is very bright indeed. A consideration of the dark side we shall reserve for another portion of our article.

ENGLAND.—THE LESSON OF KENEALY.

LONDON, February 27.

IN thinking over the causes which have led to the eccentric election of Dr. Kenealy, I am reminded of the answer given by Jemmy Hirst, the Yorkshire oddity, to King George the Third, when the King asked him how he liked London. "I like it weel enow," he answered; "but I hadn't any idea afore yesterday and to-day there were sae many fools in it." The first impression you form as to the meaning of the transaction is that it is a piece of illimitable folly, or, if not folly, a kind of morbid ailment that has affected an extremity of the political body, and which had to run its course. But the more you dwell upon it, the less you like it, and the more serious both in its causes and its possible consequences does it seem. It shows, in the first place, that that strange aberration of intelligence which possessed a considerable section of the English nation for upwards of two years in the matter of Arthur Orton's identity has by no means passed away with the verdict of the jury and Orton's conviction as a felon, but, on the contrary, that it is more widely spread and more deeply rooted than any ordinary observer could have imagined. Not long ago I was at Portland, the great convict prison on the English Channel, and happened to say to some of the small shopkeepers there that they would probably have Arthur Orton shortly with them. They were furious at the suggestion, and insisted upon it that if there was any justice in the land, and if any one should be sent to their prison, it ought to be Lord Coleridge, the Lord Chief-Justice of England, his brother judges, and the counsel who prosecuted Orton. I could not reason them nor laugh them out of their conviction. I found a similar feeling among some of the shopkeepers at Southampton; and the other day, when Mr. Evelyn Ashley, the member for Poole, attempted to ridicule the election of Dr. Kenealy before a large audience at Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, they hooted him, and refused to listen to another word he said. But though aware that wild opinions of this kind were held in parts of England as to the innocence of Dr. Kenealy's client, I frankly admit that it did not occur to me that any constituency, either in England or Scotland, would have been so beside itself as to send such a representative to Parliament as Stoke-upon-Trent has selected. From "mad Tipperary" anything might have been anticipated in a moment of Irish elation. But it surpasses belief that a community of eighteen thousand electors, consisting of stolid English workingmen and petty tradesmen, soberly and seriously, and without any notion of practising a practical joke upon the legislature, should send such a man as Dr. Kenealy to represent their political opinions in the House of Commons. He has been returned without one question as to his political views. Not one of the electors—perhaps not even their chosen representative himself—knows to which party in the state he adheres. He has, through the *Englishman*, the organ which he edits, poured out torrents of vituperation and contempt impartially upon both sides of the House and upon the Speaker. He was not returned as a follower of Mr. Disraeli, nor as a follower of Lord Hartington. He takes his seat unpledged to any line of policy or conduct. He is the defender of an impudent impostor, and he has been returned to the great Commons House of England by six thousand electors, with the one object of getting a convicted felon released from prison. This sort of action on the part of a large constituency puts all old-fashioned notions and

stereotyped ideas upon party organization out of gear. If thousands of electors in one place allow their wayward fancies to run riot in this manner, all political calculations and combinations will come to naught. Whims and vagaries will govern elections, and notoriety and not worth will be the true gateway to success.

And now a word as to the more serious consequences which I think this election suggests. You may remember that in my letter of January 16, I hazarded an opinion which in effect came to this: that in some constituencies—I hope not in many—the proletariat is practically omnipotent, now that they have got a household franchise and vote by ballot. If any question should arise in which the working, wage-earning classes are taught by agitators or others that their interests are affected, the wage-paying and educated classes in the community will be elbowed out of the field. This time last year, immediately after the present Government came into office, they appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into and report upon the operation of certain statutes affecting the relations of the employers and the employed. They were called the Labor Laws Commission, and they consisted of Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn; Lord Winmarleigh, who, as Mr. Wilson-Patten in the House of Commons, had long taken an active part in questions affecting the working classes; Mr. Bouverie, a Privy Councillor and a most experienced legislator; Mr. Russell-Gurney, whom you know well in America; Mr. Justice Smith; Mr. Roebuck; Mr. Thomas Hughes, a typical workingman's friend; Mr. Goldney, and Mr. Macdonald, one of the workingmen's representatives in the House of Commons. It was a strong Commission, and fairly representative, and the object of its appointment was an honest one—to enquire impartially into the alleged grievances of the working-classes under the Master and Servants Act, the Trades-Union Act, and the Conspiracy Act. The trades-unionists maintained that their grievances were so patent and clamorous that it was a farce to appoint any Commission, and they obstinately refused to recognize it or to give evidence before it. The report of the Commission has just been issued. It is an able document, drawn up with great care, and entering fully into all the questions which were before the Commissioners. It is said to have been written by the Lord Chief-Justice, but I cannot vouch for this, and it is signed by all the Commissioners except Mr. Macdonald, who, without professing to argue out any of the conclusions, blankly refuses his concurrence in any of the opinions expressed, and adheres to those of the trades-unionists. The report is dead against the unionists in almost every essential particular, and it carries conviction with it to all reasonable men. But it is as certain as any undetermined matter can be that it will not convince a single leader of the working-classes. They have their own view upon the questions, cut and dry, and no reasoning will shake it. Now, if the Government should attempt to legislate upon the lines of this report, the working-classes, led by their paid agitators, will oppose the measure with all the resources in their power. No candidate for any constituency where the workingmen are numerous will venture to agree with the reasonable conclusions of the commission, or the moderate proposals of the Government, founded on these conclusions. He must shut his ears to reason and to common sense, and pledge himself to the cut-and-dry views of the trades-unionists; and so much sought after is a seat in the House of Commons that men of position and education will be found to do this. But if he haggles over any of the most extreme proposals, the constituency will pass him by, and select some wild man of the Kenealy type. And now, after this election at Stoke-upon-Trent, it is only too apparent that the proletariat can do what they like. They are omnipotent in not a few important constituencies, and that is a solemn fact which English politicians must make up their minds to accept. I do not say that it is necessarily a bad thing that the working-classes should have their views represented, however extreme or wrong-headed these views may seem to men who do not belong to these classes, like the Lord Chief-Justice of England and his eminent colleagues on the Commission. I merely say that the return of Dr. Kenealy by an enormous majority in a constituency where the working-classes number about seven-ninths of the whole constituency, shows what these classes can do when they are united.

As for Dr. Kenealy himself, he will, as Walpole said of Wilkes, do less harm in the House of Commons than anywhere else. The House has a rough-and-ready way of dealing with eccentricities. Every man who comes within the rigid criticism of that assembly soon finds his level. Every newcomer, it matters not what he is, is treated at first with courtesy and consideration. The House always listens with attention, and generally with good nature, to a maiden speech, and anything like diffidence or nervousness it treats with leniency and generous encouragement. But self-assertion or bumptiousness it cannot abide, and it is cruelly intolerant of bores and one-ideaed men. Dr. Kenealy will meet with studious consideration

when he first essays to speak. But if he insists on parading the Orton grievance upon the attention of the House, his reception will be very different from that which awaited him at Stoke. The House has many effective ways of silencing a bore. An animated conversation carried on in every corner by the various members seated in their places soon deadens the voice of even the most animated speaker. A chorus of cries of "divide," "divide," "'vide," "'vide," proceeding from both sides at once whenever the speaker opens his mouth, embarrasses even the most hardened orator. But the most effectual way of bringing a one-ideaed man to his senses is the process of "counting out," and this is probably the course that will be followed with the chosen of Stoke. It is a rule of the House that forty members must be present. When an orator becomes troublesome, a stampede of members takes place from the House to the lobbies, or the smoking-rooms, or the library. Some one gets up from a back bench, and calls the Speaker's attention to the sparse attendance. The Speaker counts the House, finds there are not forty members present, orders the electric bells to be rung and the sand-glass to be turned. The stampeded members stand outside till the sand has run its two minutes' course, and the electric bells have rung out. The doors are closed, there are not forty members, and the House stands adjourned till the following day, when there is a new order of business, and the orator of the previous night has lost his chance, and may not get another till the following session. It is an effective way of silencing a bore.

Correspondence.

MORE LAMENTATIONS OVER SCHENCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: National anniversaries are of right of much greater importance to Americans abroad than to you at home, and whenever Washington's Birthday or Independence-Day came back, we used to have a habit of getting together in some manner, or, at least, of calling on our Minister or Consul to renew vicariously our nationality.

Your readers can therefore appreciate the importance, to Americans resident abroad, of a Minister. To you at home he is only an official myth—in three cases out of four a scrubby politician sent abroad to pay him for sacrificing his self-respect and honest patriotism to party exigencies; and your strongest feeling, if you have one, on his going abroad, is, that he is out of the way of mischief; but to us he is the impersonation of our country. Now and then, at wide intervals of space and time, he is a man like George P. Marsh or Charles F. Adams, who confirms us for the moment in our happy delusion that ours is a great, wise, and dignified Government; but, in general, we are content if he is no worse than incapable. I have lived abroad under many régimes, and often had cause to blush for the official representative of my country, for drunkenness, meanness, profligacy, ignorance, incapacity, venality: but until I lived under the protecting presence of General Schenck I have never had to deprecate, as an American, a connection with swindling. I don't know what my fellow-countrymen resident here, in general, think of the matter, as, since I have had to avoid his house, I rarely meet them; but I hope you will accord me the privilege of expressing the feeling of those I do know, as well as of the Englishmen I know who really admire America. It is one of intense shame perpetually, quickened by every mention in the daily papers of his great achievement, as well as by every mention of his name, and heightened by indignation at the implied approbation of our Government of an offence against diplomatic decency and social dignity such as has never been known in our day in the capital of a great country. I doubt if there is another civilized government, the meanest under the sun, that would dare so to outrage the self-respect of its respectable citizens as to compel them, year after year, to endure the humiliation of seeing their representative protected by his official capacity from a criminal suit, and hearing the head of their Government commonly and plausibly accused of participating in the swindle—of hearing his country identified in its highest personalities with a mean and flagrant fraud. I wish every man who reads my letter would sit by himself and think long enough to realize that every honest American in England has perpetually under his eyes this national shame—that he runs the risk every time that he dines with a party of Englishmen of being made to blush by an allusion to the Emma Mine or General Schenck, and that he must blush in silence, for there is not one word that can be said in mitigation of the disgrace; that whenever he takes up a morning paper he may see that some beggared victim of Grant

and Schenck has instituted a criminal action against the American Minister for complicity in a swindle which but for his name might never have been a swindle at all, and would certainly not have been a successful one; that he cannot go to his Minister's receptions with self-respect, or, if he went, meet there an Englishman who has any; that when Jim Fisk is quoted as a standard American, he dare not say that he was not.

That's the way we stand, and I wish that, since General Grant and his official advisers are lost to all sense of diplomatic propriety, every honest editor in the United States would hear our complaint, and repeat it till the whole country felt the shame.

Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

8 ALTENBURG GARDENS, CLAPHAM COMMON, LONDON, Feb. 22

THE SECOND STAGE OF WISCONSIN RAILROAD LEGISLATION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having been at Madison during most of the time when legislation concerning railroads was progressing, I venture to send a slight contribution to its history as it appeared to an outsider.

Many business men, among them the railroad managers, have, in common with yourself, been trying to believe that the notorious piece of legislation known as the Potter Law was the result of an outburst of passion, manipulated with mischievous skill by ambitious politicians. With you, they hoped that by this winter, when tempers had a chance to cool, wisdom would return, better counsels would prevail, and the obnoxious features of the law be repealed. There were grounds for these hopes. So far as could be judged, there seemed to be a growing feeling that the law was unjust, or at the least too stringent in some of its provisions; and there was, on the part of its advocates, a most vociferous declaration that if such were the case it should certainly be changed, for no injustice to anybody was contemplated. The whole question, so far as action of our legislature was concerned, hinged upon this *if*, about which the companies and the Grangers differ so widely. As the Railroad Commissioners, though appointed by one party to the contest, constituted the only tribunal whose decision would be accepted, their conclusions were awaited with anxiety and interest. They were not soon forthcoming. The true cause was doubtless the one given by the Commissioners: that they were overworked, the job proving a bigger one than they expected; but the delay was made the occasion of many mysterious hints. Their report was finally submitted about the middle of February. It would perhaps be unfair to criticise a work prepared under such pressure, but it must be said that in this bulky volume of nearly 700 pages there is a good deal for which want of time is about the worst excuse, since it might so well have been omitted. As a specimen, in discussing the question of cheap transportation, how forcible and pertinent is the following: "Hence commerce is as old as civilization, and has of necessity been as unrelenting as the forces of nature; plying upon inland seas, along the ocean shores, and upon navigable rivers, *which, by a wise provision of nature, open highways into the interior of continents!*" For some unexplained reason, that other "wise provision of nature" by which navigable rivers are always conducted past large towns is not referred to. However, there is evidence of conscientious labor and of labor employed in the right spirit and in the right direction. With some superfluous verbiage, there is much that may be studied with advantage by men about to legislate on the railroad question. You will doubtless see and discuss the report. Its conclusions were that "the only form of railway control likely to prove successful under present conditions is the legislative, supplemented by direct supervision; the legislature laying down general rules of action, but leaving the application and enforcement of those rules to a commission."

There was some divergence of opinion among the Commissioners; but a bill, supposed to contain provisions in accordance with these conclusions, was eventually prepared and heartily urged by two of the number; the third, though not fully concurring, would not, it was understood, oppose it. This bill added to the functions and increased the powers of the Commissioners, and in some respects exceeded in stringency the present law; but, leaving passenger rates unchanged, it substituted a limitation of profits for an arbitrary tariff, leaving the companies control of their business below that point. The limit was "ten per cent. on the cash value of the road, as determined by the Commissioners, including taxes and licenses," meaning that, out of this nominal net-earning, taxes and licenses were to be paid, leaving the net really something over eight per cent. Although coming from constituents who were as a whole disposed to make concessions, the temper of the legislature was at this time unfriendly to the roads. Among other things, the prolonged senatorial contest had made a good deal of bad blood. It was charged, whether rightly or wrongly, that Senator Carpen-

ter's defeat was due to railroad interference. That gentleman's speeches after he was beaten were calculated to confirm and strengthen this prejudice, being little else than tirades against capital. Railroad managers, convinced that it was hopeless to think of repealing the Potter Law, and that the utmost they need expect was to obtain some mitigation of its hardships, decided to ask two slight amendments to the Commissioners' bill, and advocate its passage. Their amendments were adopted in committee, but they might have spared themselves this trouble.

The bill came before the Assembly, and its framers were asked to explain its provisions. Commissioner Hoyt proceeded to do this in an able manner. He alluded to the difficulties under which they had labored as an excuse for the inconclusive nature of some of their work; he hinted at some of the defects of the Potter Law, and explained in what manner it was proposed to remedy them. He handled the subject somewhat gingerly, but on the whole well and with tact. Venturing in conclusion to make an appeal to the magnanimity of the people through their representatives, he went a step too far, and was brought to by being bluntly told that the Assembly was there to be informed as to the provisions of his bill, and not to be harangued. This snub, which was swallowed with as good grace as could have been expected, was but the beginning of a series which must have been unpalatable. The bill was warmly advocated by its friends; but without other discussion on the part of the Grangers than threadbare denunciations of monopolies and thinly-veiled insinuations concerning the Commissioners, it was ignominiously defeated in both houses. The agricultural legislators enjoy too keenly the exercise of unlimited power over one hundred millions of capital to consent to delegate it to a board of Commissioners, concerning whom their remarks were the reverse of complimentary. Those gentlemen had reached conclusions that were not acceptable to the power that created them, and so they were dropped, and in all the subsequent negotiations between the roads and the Grangers the Commissioners and their suggestions were ignored in the most contemptuous manner. There was now before both houses a bill known as the Quimby Amendment, purporting to perfect the Potter Law, which it did by giving it added stringency. The only thing left for the roads to do was to beg for such slight relief, by way of modification of this bill, as might be vouchsafed them. This they proceeded to do in the most deferential, not to say abject, manner. Conferring with a committee of five appointed, not by either house, but by the Grange organization, they were offered a concession amounting to about one per cent. on the freight traffic affected.

It may be as well to explain here in what manner that master of the subject of transportation—Senator Potter—arrived at the rates that appear in his law. There was a good deal of curiosity to know how they were obtained, which was gratified with reluctance on his part. It appears that he took the lowest published tariff, and deducted twenty-five per cent. all around. This scientific method was pursued throughout all the negotiations. Affecting vitally millions of capital, and indirectly the whole State, this question of rates and earnings has been treated in the same spirit in which they would squabble over a constable's fees. Not to dwell on these disagreeable details, an amendment was finally adopted which increased the old rates by a small fraction, and the friends of fair dealing, aided by those who were willing to throw a small sop to the roads, succeeded in carrying it. With this they must be content, and it is questionable whether the concession is worth the forfeiture of principle and self-respect which it cost to obtain it.

The leaders of the Granger element are shrewd and unscrupulous, the rank-and-file well drilled and submissive, and the temper of the whole organization narrow and vindictive. A sullen spirit of retaliation was manifested throughout which can only be likened to that which was shown years ago on the line of the Michigan Central, when for certain alleged grievances men justified themselves in placing obstructions on the track, killing and wounding scores of innocent people by way of revenging themselves upon the company. It was useless to attempt to show them that the oppression and the abuses of which they complained had been something overstated. Their own Commissioners, forced to this conclusion, and having the manhood to announce it, were snubbed and slandered. The companies laid before them a memorial, which discussed the whole question ably and fully, establishing by unanswerable statistics that Wisconsin roads had been built cheaper than most others, and that the rates prescribed by the Potter Law were far below those of the roads of any State in the Union or of any foreign country. The only reply of Mr. Potter and his congeners was that they did not believe it. When the gentlemen representing the unfortunate stockholders assured them that a persistence in these low rates meant absolute ruin to the companies, it was sneered at as pure mendacity; while others, less discreet, plainly said that they hoped that

it did mean ruin, for then, if sold in bankruptcy, the roads would pass into new hands at such reduced figures that they could be profitably operated at the low rates. It did not seem to occur to them that capitalists would be slow to buy in the roads at even \$10,000 per mile, when there was every reason to fear that the action of the next legislature might result in selling them out at \$5,000 or perhaps \$1,000 per mile.

In view of the fact that the roads obtained a slight advance, there were those who hoped that a break was made in the ranks of the Grangers; but there were but slight grounds for such an opinion. There is good reason for believing that when the legislature met they expected to do more than they have done. The consciousness of power brought with it a determination to exercise it, and it is questionable whether the relief given was not granted in the same spirit that the cat gives the mouse a respite in order that the tormenting which is so interesting may last the longer. At any rate—to paraphrase slightly the language of the most blatant of their spokesmen—they have yet to learn that there is anything oppressive or unjust in the provisions of the Potter Law; anything dishonorable in exacting compulsory service upon their own terms; anything disgraceful in sneaking out of a solemn compact after the benefits have been received, if only it be done by a class instead of an individual. There was not, so far as my observation went, even among opponents to the bill, a single member who, when pleading for mercy or generosity to the roads, did not feel called upon to preface his remarks with the assurance that he regarded the *principles* of the Potter Law as just and right, and that no one would go further than he to uphold them, although he did think some of its provisions a little stringent.

The Commissioners stated not only in the Assembly but before the committees and privately, that their bill was by them intended as a step toward the inauguration of a system under which the earnings of all capital should be regulated by legislation. Several bills intended to control both corporate and private capital, and quite in consonance with the legislative spirit of the fifteenth century, were introduced and defeated, not in fair fight, but only by manœuvring tactics. The Grangers did not, of course, confine themselves to this class of legislation, but took concerted action on most important measures that came up. Daily secret meetings were held wherein plans of action were matured. It was even thought by many that they had certain cues or signals, by means of which the leaders gave their orders whenever unexpected contingencies or complications arose. With a good working majority so thoroughly disciplined, it will be readily imagined that they drew largely on all who had need of their support in aid of special measures, and such was the case. In short, judging from appearances, there seems almost to be warrant for the assertion that the Wisconsin Legislature of 1875 was a legislature run by a secret organization.

The situation is one which every citizen who is not intoxicated with the possession of power to which he is unused must regard with grave concern. The credit of our State, which was already crippled, has received another blow. With money cheap and plenty in commercial centres, our borrowing power is completely paralyzed. Under wise and temperate legislation, its recovery would be at the best but a slow process, and, judging from present indications, it is a long look ahead to the time when this course of treatment is likely to be entered upon.

F. R. L.

EAU CLAIRE, WISCONSIN, March 10, 1875.

[The above confirms all the comments and predictions we have ever offered on this subject, and we commend it to the attention of all investors at home and abroad. We assure them they cannot safely put money into *any* enterprise, private or corporate, in the State of Wisconsin, or lend it on any security accessible to legislation. The spirit at the bottom of the Granger legislation is, in fact, one of sheer and simple dishonesty.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

J. B. FORD & CO. send us Vols. I. and II. of 'Knight's Mechanical Dictionary,' ending with *Pan*. We have more than once referred to the progress of this valuable publication, which is not only remarkably comprehensive, but as fresh as our author's long service in the Patent Office can make it. As every American is at some time in his life an inventor, a work like this ought to find a place beside his Webster or Worcester. The American Public Health Association is not yet a household word, but that it is not a mere name is abundantly shown by the handsome volume

of reports and papers presented at its meetings in 1873 (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 8vo, pp. 563). We cannot even enumerate here the topics discussed, mostly by first-rate authorities. Among the illustrated articles are General Walker's "Relations of Race and Nationality to Mortality in the United States"; the very curious "History and Course of the Epizootic" on this continent in 1872-73, by Dr. A. B. Judson; the same writer's "Report upon the Course of Cholera in the Mississippi Valley"; Dr. J. C. Peters's "Origin and Spread of Asiatic Cholera"; Dr. J. M. Toner's "Reports on Yellow Fever"; "Sanitary Climatology," by Lorin Blodgett; and Dr. Van der Poel's "Experience and Requirements of Quarantine."—The last illustrated paper in the foregoing work, "On the Sanitary Chemistry of Waters," with reference to the supply of cities, is by Dr. C. F. Chandler, and is accompanied by a map of the Croton water-shed. We are reminded by it of the second official report of Mr. Verplanck Colvin on his topographical survey of the Adirondack wilderness, which has just come to hand. To this region, in all probability, New York and many of the cities along the Hudson will eventually resort for an unfailing water-supply. Mr. Colvin's narrative is as readable as a magazine article, and is made intelligible by a great variety of engravings and maps.—Robert Clarke & Co.'s 'Catalogue of Books Relating to America' fills 130 well-printed pages, of which 22 are devoted to the sub-heading, "Rebellion and Slavery." An index greatly enhances its usefulness (Cincinnati).—The Harvard School of Geology, the analogue of the Anderson School at Penikese, is announced to open at Cumberland Gap, Tenn., on the 1st of July, under the direction of Professor N. S. Shaler. He will be assisted by his colleagues on the Geological Survey, and by members of the State Survey, of Kentucky, and probably also by Dr. Asa Gray, and Professors J. D. Whitney and Raphael Pumpelly, of Harvard. Teachers only (male, and not to exceed twenty-five in number) will be received in this camp. Applications should be addressed to F. W. Harris, Cambridge.—Macmillan & Co. have in press a work in two volumes, by Mr. A. R. Wallace, possessing a high degree of interest. It is on the 'Geographical Distribution of Animals.'—James Miller will reprint Miss Frances Power Cobbe's 'Hopes of the Human Race, Here and Hereafter.'—Scribner, Welford & Armstrong are reprinting, by special arrangement with the English publishers, translations of Paul Lacroix's 'XVIIIe Siècle' and Baron Davillier's 'L'Espagne,' with all the illustrations. Scribner, Armstrong & Co., by a similar arrangement, reprint Louis Rousset's 'L'Inde des Rajahs.' They have just issued Leslie Stephen's 'Hours in a Library,' which we need not introduce again to our readers, and, from the stereotype plates, Craik's 'Compendious History of English Literature and of the English Language from the Norman Conquest,' in two volumes.—Benj. F. Burr, Ludlow, Mass., announces a volume relating to the history of that town and its centennial celebration last year.

—The *Portfolio* for March opens with a fine etching by Rajon from Giorgione's 'Knight in Armor' in the National Gallery. The series of photogravures from Greek coins is continued, giving some of those admirable Syracusan medals whose cutting is to numismatics what the art of Phidias is to sculpture. A rather flattering article on Bouguereau, by a fellow-countryman of the artist, is illustrated too in photogravure, the example being from one of the pseudo-classical figures of this too elegant painter. The editor, Mr. Hamerton, reviews some etchings, and the article on technical method describes the processes of Holman Hunt. The only symptom in the number that is not quite reassuring is the tendency to lessen the proportion of etchings and increase that of the clever photograph-prints, thus substituting "inspired chemistry" for "artistic inspiration." The American publisher is Mr. J. W. Bouton, No. 706 Broadway.

—Ninety-nine water-color sketches by Blake have been received by Mr. Bouton, and are for sale. Our libraries and art-museums should look to it that the series in its completeness be retained in some one of our appropriate institutions. These drawings are in various stages of finish, in different methods, on sheets of several hues. In each case the tint of the paper is cleverly used to save trouble in elaborating the effect. On a slight preliminary examination, we observe the originals of most of the illustrations to Swinburne's Essay, some of those of Blair's 'Grave,' and various motives copied by Mr. Gilchrist. The variation on Stonehenge, the corpse and bat-like figure, and several others employed by Mr. Swinburne, are recognizable, as well as the compositions he admires so much of couples rushing into embrace from the midst of flames or the hearts of flowers; the Leviathan; and the pair, resembling Adam and Eve, who are engaged in adoring a god apparently in a state of conflagration. The young man crouching for a flight as he surmounts the tomb (Blair's 'Grave') is seen in more than one study. We may casually speak, as instances of power or originality, of the group on a torn sheet, depicting Job and his

comforters; of a sort of female Promethens stretched on a cloud, the vulture busy at her soft bosom; angels adoring the chalice, or else saying grace before celestial food; a seraph darting through clouds, holding a great pair of balances; the well-known inverted figure of a herculean spirit blowing a trumpet; and Leviathan, dominated by a woman, child and babe, who ride on its folds in triumph. The pictures in question are understood to be those from which the late Mr. Hotten prepared his fac-similes, and are released to sale, in all probability, on account of circumstances connected with his death.

—Part I. of the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie' comes to us from F. W. Christern, the first instalment of a great work to embrace a hundred parts or twenty volumes, and to be completed in ten years. This is not an enterprise due, as might be supposed, to the new-born spirit of German unity, but one proposed as early as 1868 by Ranke and Döllinger, and unanimously adopted by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, under whose auspices the 'Biographie' at length appears. Its scope is confined to departed greatness, but not to German soil alone. All Germans, not among the living, who have been eminent in church and state, science and art, trade and manufactures, or in other ways, will be recorded here, whether they happen to have been born within the present German Empire, or in Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands (down to 1648), or the Baltic provinces of Russia. The issue before us extends from Aa to Ahlefeldt, and occupies 160 pp. A rough comparison of the biographies with those contained in the new Brockhaus indicates a proportion of three to two in favor of the 'Biographie,' which of course is able to treat of them more at length than would be possible for the former. What is most striking, however, is a comparison of the contributors engaged upon these two dictionaries. Those of the 'Biographie' number about 380, against about 120 in Brockhaus's employ, and it is hardly to be believed that only ten names occur on both lists, which fairly bristle with Prof., Dr., and Prof. Dr., together with high functionaries in the civil service, etc., etc. As this is actually the case, however, it is even safe to infer that a third enterprise of similar character and magnitude would find plenty of savants to recruit from besides the 500 just reckoned; and a more splendid tribute to the higher education of Germany could hardly be imagined. In the field of national biography the Germans have hitherto been behind their neighbors, both great and small, but this self-imposed task of seventeen years will have changed all that.

—An esteemed contributor sends us the following extracts, which he professes to have taken from the London *Academy* of February 29, 1875: "In his answer to the well-merited castigation which we recently administered to the transatlantic archaeologists, Mr. Trumbull actually commits a pun implying the equivalence of *mālum* and *mālum*. When will American scholars learn to pay due regard to quantities? Are the members of the Oriental and Philological Societies really any better than the bank officer of whom we read in the same paper, who, his salary being only \$5,000, out of heedlessness of quantity took \$50,000?" We confess that we have not found these words in the *Academy*, in fact that no issue for the date specified has reached us; but we are obliged to add that the extract bears every internal evidence of being a genuine one; for it is quite in accordance with that paper's way of judging and commenting on all matters connected with the "Cardiff giant." Through the particular pair of eyes by which it has looked at this subject, the usually clear-sighted *Academy* has not seemed able to get sufficiently distinct and unprejudiced views to do justice either to things or to persons. It never fairly reported our original account of the discussion in the Oriental Society, nor let its readers see the aspect of the question as there presented; and it has spent its strength mainly in finding something to carp at in unessential attendant circumstances. We hold over here that the statue was years ago, and in the most public manner, declared and proved a forgery; that after making a fortune for its clever perpetrator, it has sunk into deserved neglect and contempt; that it never had any qualities to engage the credence of cautious scholars; and that American scholars have been and are agreed in condemning it. There is, to be sure, one man upon the opposite side; and his industrious distribution of his own communications in those learned and authoritative journals, the *Galaxy* and the *New Haven Palladium*, appears to have been the means of taking in certain too incautious and credulous foreign scholars. But to require that the question be reopened on his appeal and settled anew is equivalent to demanding that the Copernican theory be taken up again for serious discussion because some notoriety-seeking individual with a maggot in his head chooses to declare himself a Ptolemaist. There is no question that Professor Schlottmann and Dr. Hartogh, in dragging before the learned of Europe at this late day what we have truly called a "long since exploded

humbug," have committed a grave oversight, for which they deserve to be sharply taken to task; and we have information that some of their colleagues heartily agree with us in this opinion.

—The death of Sir Arthur Helps will be widely regretted in this country, for his writings were of a sort to awaken a strong feeling of personal regard for their author. The quality of his thought, no less than of his style, was essentially that of a gentleman. No books exhibit more clearly than his the religion of the best modern society—the religion of self-respect, of personal refinement, of humanity, and the good breeding which puts all men at ease. His mind was not one of remarkable strength or remarkable subtlety, but his intellectual perceptions were delicate and well trained, and his sympathies, both moral and intellectual, were wide and keen. He was, altogether, a civilized, cultivated, social man of letters, and the topics that especially interested him were those which concern men in their social relations. His reputation as a thinker will rest mainly on his discussion of what are called social questions. On these topics his thought, if not always profound, was fresh and acute, the product of large experience, extended observation, and deliberate reflection. He had a firm faith that no great revolution is required to make the lives of men much more cheerful, much happier, than they now are; that what is required is attention to the means already at hand, and the application of remedies great part of which are in possession of every individual. He was no perverse optimist, but he had the conviction that the good in the world might be indefinitely increased by simple means, and his best writings are those in which he sets forth this faith, and illustrates and recommends it with the skill begotten of generous warmth of feeling. The keynote of the first of his books that became well known, his 'Friends in Council,' published almost thirty years ago, is struck again in the last of his writings, his book on 'Social Pressure,' which appears in this country simultaneously with the announcement of his death. The better organization of society, the improvement in the condition of the poor, the application of the standard of private morals to the conduct of public affairs—these are the matters to which, in various form, he returns again and again. His humane and liberal spirit pervades his books. Against slavery, war, neglect of the poor, cruelty to animals, and many another manifestation of human brutality, he directed his efforts with unrelaxing energy. But no bitter words ever fell from his pen. He recognized the virtue of self-possessed force, and he never wasted his strength in controversy or lost his temper in impatience with wrongdoers.

—His essays will be long remembered and more read than his other books. He had not an imagination of sufficient force to make him a poet, and his novels and tragedies are the performances of talent rather than the creations of genius. His style was the reflection of himself, always clear, always pleasant, and at its best rising to heights of vigorous animation and full-flowing ease of expression, which give him just claim to a place among the best modern masters of English prose. No books will hereafter afford to the student of the thoughts and sentiments of the best English society of the last thirty years a truer acquaintance with them than 'Friends in Council,' 'Companions of my Solitude,' and the other volumes of the series of essays and conversations of which they were the first. The delightful personal characteristics which his books in part reveal endeared Sir Arthur Helps to a wide circle of friends. Mr. Emerson, in his 'English Traits,' has recorded his visit with Carlyle to Mr. Helps, as he then was, at his home in Bishops Waltham. A few years later, an enterprise in which he engaged, with the hope of benefiting others as well as himself, resulted so ill as to involve the loss of his ample property and the giving up of his home. In 1859, he was appointed Clerk of the Privy Council, an office of responsibility and of labor. This office he retained till his death. In 1872, he was made Civil Knight Commander of the Bath, in recognition of his various services to literature and the state. Misfortune did not break or embitter him, but it saddened his later years. He still made the best of life; he remained one of the most agreeable of men in society; always kindly in judgment, always desirous to promote pleasantness, and possessed of such culture and such gifts as made him master in his favorite art—the art of living with others.

—Some few years ago the crime of garroting became so rife in England that the punishment of flogging was revived, and it has now been on trial for some years in that country. The Home Secretary has recently asked the judges of the Superior Courts to say whether in their opinion the revival of this obsolescent punishment has proved successful, and whether it ought to be extended to a class of cases which have of late years become almost as common as garroting formerly—those of aggravated assault. The opinion of the judges is almost unanimous that flogging has proved its value a

a punishment; that the fear of it has upon the minds of brutal malefactors a powerful deterrent effect which nothing else has; that garroting was actually brought to an end by it, and that the general sum of human happiness, at least in Great Britain, is sensibly increased by the occasional administration of a couple of dozen lashes "well laid on" the backs of a certain class of the community. From this argument, however, two or three of the judges dissent, maintaining that flogging is an objectionable punishment. That there should be a difference of opinion on the subject is not remarkable, but the arguments by which one of the minority, Mr. Justice Keating, supports his position are worth attention. This judge says, first, that he has himself never sentenced any one to be flogged under the provisions of the act as to garroters, a fact which would seem to deprive his opinion of the weight given by actual experiment to that of the others, but which he mentions as if he considered it in itself an argument against the punishment, and then says that flogging is unequal in its application—a number of lashes which would make one man faint being taken by another with comparative indifference; that it hardens the offenders; that it has no deterrent effect, because "nine-tenths of the crimes of violence committed throughout England originate in public-houses, and are committed under circumstances which exclude all reflection"; that men in the army and navy have been constantly flogged for repeating the same offences, and that he himself, having to follow at Leeds a flogging judge, found the number of cases had considerably increased. The peculiarity of these objections, as has been pointed out in England, is that, so far as they have any force, they apply to all punishment short of death. With regard to the increase of cases after the tour of the flogging-judge, we cannot tell whether the garroting did not become more lively because the garroters got wind of the approach of a non-flogging judge. With regard to all the other objections, they apply to locking a man up in a cell, to forcing him to work with other convicts in gangs, to depriving him of his liberty in any way, and indeed to any punishment short of hanging.

—We printed last week a notice of the first two volumes of 'Records of the Past, being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments, published under the Sanction of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.' The third volume of the series has just come to hand. It contains further translations of Assyrian texts, embracing some of the principal historical and other documents found in the cuneiform inscriptions. "The materials of this volume, like the preceding, have been prepared by different Assyriologists with great care, and those which have appeared elsewhere have been carefully revised and corrected or retranslated." The greater part of the volume is occupied with translations of inscriptions relating the deeds of kings—royal annals, in fact, which contain much that illustrates the social conditions, the arts, and the beliefs of the ancient people. The most curious of these inscriptions are two which relate to Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, and one of the greatest of the kings of Assyria. The first, which is unfortunately imperfect, narrates his proceedings after hearing of the murder of his father—a deed recorded in the Second Book of Kings, xix. 37, and in Isaiah xxxvii. 38. It is an interesting illustration of the narrative in the Bible. The second contains, among other things, a detailed account of the building of the great palace of the king, and is a record of considerable importance for the information it affords concerning Assyrian art. Esarhaddon lived in the seventh century before Christ, and in reading this account of his palace and its splendors, deciphered from the inscription on a hexagonal prism of baked clay, which was found near Nineveh, one can hardly fail to be impressed with the contrast between the transitoriness of the stout and stately edifice, called from its splendor "The Palace which rivals the World," and the durability of the little, fragile hexagon of clay which tells us all we know of it. As Sir Thomas Browne says: "Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. To be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection." The volume contains also an Accadian Liturgy, and some very curious specimens of Assyrian sacred poetry, exorcisms, and charms. The well-deserved success of this series is, we are glad to learn, so great, that a second volume of translations from Egyptian texts and a third volume from Assyrian texts will appear next July. The exceedingly moderate price at which the volumes are sold brings them within the means of all but the starving scholar.

—Dr. John Muir, of Edinburgh, has printed for private circulation, as forerunner and sample of a larger work on which he is engaged, a little brochure of 'Religious and Moral Sentiments, freely translated from Indian Writers.' The translations are in verse, Dr. Muir having shown himself in various ways before a versifier of no mean power in Sanskrit as

well as in English. In an appendix he gives his sources, with a literal version of each verse or passage, and with explanatory remarks. A preface discusses the general question of the relation of Indian ethics and their expression to Christian morality and doctrine; and in it the author shows his usual good judgment and sound appreciation of what we may call the principles of comparative religion by arguing against and rejecting the wild and foolish views put forth some years ago by Dr. Lorinser as to the derivation of passages in the Bhagavadgītā from Christian sources. It will be long, of course, before men will learn to distinguish accurately between derivations and independent parallel expressions of a common human sentiment; but, except where the cumulative evidence of borrowing is very plain, scepticism as to its existence is by far the safer side to take. We have, it may be added, in Böhtlingk's 'Indische Sprüche,' an immense collection of aphorisms in Sanskrit, on religious and moral as well as other subjects, each with a literal German version subjoined. With an index added (it is arranged alphabetically), it would be—indeed, it is already—a most valuable mine for all interested in such subjects to dig in. Didactic poets innumerable might draw their texts from it.

SPANISH REFORMERS.*

THE history of the Reformation in Spain yet remains to be written. McCrie's 'Reformation in Spain,' De Castro's history of the Spanish Protestants, and the work now under consideration, are valuable contributions to the subject, but, from the very nature of things, incomplete or partial. Spanish books on all topics are scarce, and, as may be supposed, the Inquisition has done its best to destroy all those relating to the great religious movement of the sixteenth century. So effectually has this been done, and so loud are the Spaniards themselves in their boasts of freedom from heresies against the Romish Church, that many are ignorant of the fact that the Reformation awakened a powerful echo in Spain. The latest Spanish historian, Lafuente, himself a most zealous Catholic (vii. 36, 2d ed. 'Hist. de España'), in speaking of Charles the Fifth and his wish expressed at Yuste that every means should be employed to uproot the growing heresy, remarks:

"If the Emperor's life had been prolonged but a little while, the inquisitorial zeal which he displayed in his latter days would have been satisfied by seeing the Inquisition prosecute so many persons illustrious by their high offices, learning, or family, so many archbishops and bishops, abbots, priests, monks, nuns, marquises and great lords, magistrates, professors, high functionaries of the state, together with tradesmen, artisans, servants, and common people. He would have seen subjected to an inquisitorial process the Archbishops of Granada and Santiago, the Bishops of Lugo, Leon, and Almeria, and distinguished theologians who had shed renown on Spain and the Catholic Church in the Council of Trent. He would also have seen denounced and prosecuted on suspicion of Lutheranism the Primate of the Spanish Church, the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé de Carranza, confessor of Philip II., who had consoled the dying moments of the Emperor at Yuste; and with him he would have seen prosecuted all the prelates and theologians who had approved his 'Comments on the Catechism of Christian Doctrine.'"

This extract from a Catholic writer will show, perhaps, how important the subject is, and how deserving the attention of students of the Reformation. As has been stated in the outset, the book before us is not a complete history of this period, nor does it aim to be. The circumstances under which it was written are somewhat peculiar and interesting. Benjamin Barron Wiffen was born, in 1794, of an English Quaker family. His elder brother was the J. H. Wiffen favorably known by his translations of Tasso and Garcilaso de la Vega. In 1839, Benjamin became acquainted with a Spanish gentleman, Luis de Usó y Rio, who had become interested in a translation of Barclay's 'Apology,' and, knowing that J. H. Wiffen, the translator of Garcilaso, was a Quaker, resolved (should he go to London) to find him out, and learn more about the Society of Friends. When he came to London, he learned that J. H. Wiffen was dead. The surviving brother heard of the enquiries the Spanish gentleman had made, and called upon him. This chance acquaintance ripened into a lifelong friendship, and entirely changed the tenor of Wiffen's life. In 1839 he went to Spain with his friend G. W. Alexander, in order to promote the effectual abolition of the slave-trade and slavery. He made another visit on the same errand in 1843. His niece says in her memoir:

"On this visit he became still more intimate with his Spanish friends, and yet more deeply interested in all that related to Spain, her literature,

* Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. Their Lives and Writings, according to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen's plan, and with the use of his Materials. Described by Edward Boehmer, D.D., Ph.D., Ordinary Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of Strassburg. First Volume. With B. B. Wiffen's narrative of the incidents attendant upon the republication of 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles,' and with a Memoir of B. B. Wiffen by Isaline Wiffen. Strassburg and London: Trübner. 1874.

and her martyrs for the truth. From this period his literary pursuits gradually assumed a definite form, and the discovery by him of the 'Alfabeto Christiano' of Juan de Valdés (which had been lost for the last three centuries), led to the restoration and reprinting of the various and unknown writings of that author, as well as of numerous other valuable religious works, which furnished a delightful and interesting study, and became for twenty-five years the absorbing interest of his life.

During this time Wiffen was indefatigable in the collection and copying of the works of the early Spanish reformers. This material he placed at the disposal of his friend Luis de Usó y Río, who employed it in the series entitled 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles' (Madrid, 1847-1865, twenty volumes). He died soon after the last volume was published, and Wiffen did not long survive his friend, dying in 1867. It had been his hope for many years that Don Luis would compile a manual of the lives and works of the Spanish reformers from the time of Erasmus. This hope was blighted by Don Luis's death, and Wiffen was obliged to depend henceforth upon himself, he being then upwards of seventy years old. He was prevented by death from completing this work, but left considerable material for it. Edward Boehmer, the well-known German scholar, was then requested to prepare for the press the bibliographical notes and memoirs left by Wiffen. This task has been executed in a masterly manner, and the work will be indispensable to those interested in the literature of the Reformation.

The first volume, the only one yet issued, contains a memoir of Wiffen by his niece, a narrative of the incidents attendant upon the republication of the 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles,' the memoirs of Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, Francisco and Jaime de Enzinas, Juan Díaz, and an admirable bibliography of their works. The memoirs of the early Spanish reformers are full of interest; as has been hinted at the beginning of this notice, we shall find among them names of those high in church and state. The first one mentioned by Wiffen, Alfonso Valdés, was an Imperial Secretary of State under Charles the Fifth, whom he accompanied on many of his journeys, and on one of them he became acquainted with Melancthon and other reformers. Among his works is an interesting letter on the sack of Rome, written to vindicate the Emperor and to prove that terrible catastrophe to have been a retribution upon the sins of the Papal city. Alfonso died in 1532 of the plague at Vienna. His twin brother, Juan, had more leisure for his literary labors. He did not feel safe in Spain, and established himself permanently about 1533 at Naples, where he wrote his masterly 'Dialogue on the Language' (i.e., the Spanish), a work of high authority. Among his pupils and friends was the beautiful Julia Gonzaga, for whom he wrote his 'Christian Alphabet,' and to whom he dedicated a translation of the Psalms, now unfortunately lost. He also dedicated to the same person commentaries on Romans and First Corinthians. The text he translated himself, and to him belongs the honor of being the first person to undertake a translation of the Bible from the original languages into Spanish. Valdés's most important work, however, is his celebrated 'Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations,' which work was translated by John T. Betts, Wiffen's intimate friend, and edited by the latter with an exhaustive life of the author (London: B. Quaritch. 1865.) Valdés died in 1541, enjoying to the last the friendship of the most distinguished Italian divines, who saw no fault in his life or writings.

The next mentioned reformer is Francesco de Enzinas (who changed his name after the prevailing fashion into the Greek form Dryander), the author of the first complete translation of the Bible, which he dedicated to Charles the Fifth. The Emperor's confessor threw difficulties in the way of its publication, and caused the translator's imprisonment. He escaped, however, was for a time a guest of Melancthon, travelled much, and became professor of Greek at Cambridge. He did not remain there long, and died at Strassburg in 1552. His brother Jaime embraced the doctrines of Protestantism, and was burned at Rome in 1547.

The final memoir is that of Juan Díaz, chiefly known by his tragical death, which created an intense excitement all over Europe. He became a Protestant at the University of Paris, whither he had gone in 1539 to study theology, and afterwards settled in Switzerland. His elder brother Alfonso, employed in the court of the Rota at Rome, heard of his change of religious views, and immediately started for Ratisbon, accompanied by a man who had formerly been an executioner. The brothers met at Neuberg, and Alfonso used all his endeavors to persuade Juan to return to the Romish Church or to accompany him to Italy. Failing in his efforts, he departed and returned the next morning with his satellite, who, with an axe purchased for the purpose the day before, killed Juan Díaz as he was reading a letter from his unnatural brother. Alfonso was arrested at Innsbruck, but afterwards, on the Pope's demand, sent to Rome. It does not appear that he was ever punished; at all events, he was at liberty a few years afterwards and in Spain. It is some satisfaction to know that Alfonso's con-

science was not so easy upon this matter as some others. He hanged himself at Trent in 1551.

We shall look with interest for the next instalment of this valuable work, which will doubtless throw more light upon the progress made by the reformed doctrines in Spain.

Manual of Political Ethics, designed chiefly for the use of Colleges and Students at Law. By Francis Lieber. Two volumes. Second edition, revised. Edited by Theodore D. Woolsey. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.)—In taking up this new edition of Dr. Lieber's well-known work, we have only to repeat the expression of regret to which we gave utterance when noticing the 'Civil Liberty' last June—that the editor, Dr. Woolsey, should not have taken a broader view of his duties, and should not have made full and frequent additions to the notes. We say this as much in the interest of Dr. Lieber's memory as in that of the generation of students which is now using his books; for there is hardly a page of this one which would not bear copious illustration from the history of the thirty-seven years which have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition. There have not been many periods, if any, in modern history so fruitful in experience. We do not say so eventful, be it remarked, but so fruitful in experience. There may have been other periods in which more startling occurrences and more widely-felt changes have taken place, but there has been none of the same length in which the value of so many political theories has been put to the test, and in which so many opinions on important political problems have undergone revision in the light of actual facts. In going through Dr. Lieber's book, therefore, with recent history fresh in one's memory, one might, considering the number and variety of the topics he discusses, and the distinctness with which, in addressing young men, he is compelled to express himself, fairly expect to light upon a large number of disabled arguments and falsified anticipations. But nothing in the book is more remarkable than the way in which his positions have stood the test of subsequent experiment and elucidation. We have looked carefully for passages which the recent advances in historical criticism and sociological research, or the political experience of this country or of Western Europe, might have deprived of their value, and we confess we have not found one. This is as striking a proof as we could offer of the soundness of Dr. Lieber's ethical speculations, of the general accuracy and variety of his learning, and of the acuteness of his political sense. He was essentially a healthy-minded man. He stood squarely on his feet on the solid earth, and his book therefore wears as few books or none of the kind have ever done.

If, therefore, the editor had found time, or had deemed it a part of his duty, to apply the author's maxims and predictions to the events even of our own country during the last twenty years, he would not only have greatly increased the value of the book for political students, but have given additional lustre to Dr. Lieber's reputation. We trust some one may be found hereafter willing to undertake this task; whether anybody of equal competency will be found is more than doubtful. Of the value of just such an application of Dr. Lieber's lessons there can unhappily be little question. A generation has come on the stage since the outbreak of the Civil War which has lost its hold on many of the most valuable traditions of Anglo-Saxon politics, and which has learnt to set but little store on many of the ethical foundations which the men of an earlier time deemed essential to the national safety and welfare. Reading Dr. Lieber amid the discussions of our own day is like drinking at the old fountains from which those who conceived the great fabric of Anglo-Saxon liberty drew their inspiration.

The fault of this book, as of Dr. Lieber's other works, is discursiveness. His memory was very tenacious, his reading very wide, and his store of illustration very rich. The temptation, therefore, to ramble in the by-ways of a various learning he was very apt to find irresistible. That this has, however, ensured the attractiveness of his works for the class for which it was intended we have little doubt; that it has somewhat diminished their weight as scientific works is, in these days of rigid classification and precise definition, perhaps also true. But if Dr. Lieber had had more capacity for scientific arrangement he would probably have had less success as a preacher. A more taking guide through the tortuous paths of political casuistry no young man could have. He touches nothing without throwing a light on it drawn from many periods and many nations; and then his sympathy with all the nobler emotions of human history, and his hatred for everything which can darken or debase it, are so hearty and genuine, that in listening to him one almost wonders that goodness and purity have had so hard a battle to fight.

Social Pressure. By Sir Arthur Helps, K.C.B. (Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875.)—This volume from the pen of Sir Arthur Helps, the

news of whose death has just come to us, is a characteristic and agreeable last bequest of its author. It belongs to the somewhat voluminous series of 'Friends in Council,' of which the philosophy is not very deep, but, so far as it goes, very clear and very sound; the gaiety, the humor, rather mild, but very constant, and in perfectly good taste. It is genial common-sense and intelligence, a trifle diluted, but not fatally so, applied to what we may call episodic questions—secondary questions, questions by no means trivial, but not of the first importance. The number and variety of the questions which Sir Arthur Helps touches upon are very great; he has remarkable fertility of suggestion and invention. We must repeat, too, what we had occasion to say above, in our general characterization of him and of his works, that, if his sense is of the more strictly common-sense category, his style is decidedly above the common.

"If you ever make use of our essays and lucubrations," says one of Sir Arthur Helps's interlocutors, "take this as your title to them: 'Social Pressure.' It is vague, sounds important, does not tell too much, and, at any rate, it keeps clear of politics. You need not say from where the pressure comes; each reader will suppose that it comes from himself." "I have often dared to think," says another, "what an advantage it would be to this country if Parliamentary discussions were put aside for two or three years, and the attention of the country were directed to administration. . . . Do you not agree with me that there is an enormous deal to be done in those branches of human effort which have nothing whatever to do with the redistribution of political power, with theological matters, or with any of those questions which are abundant in strife, and which produce very little improvement for the great masses of mankind?" The topics discussed by the "Friends" are for the most part chosen in accordance with this suggestion, although many of them are of a simply ethical sort. "That towns may be too large," on the one hand, and on the other hand that they may not (we ourselves, much as we like an immense city, incline, on the author's showing, to the former view); that it should not be an invariable fashion that offices of state be occupied by men who have been in Parliament; that England should by all means keep hold of her colonies; that the horror of "paternal government" may be overdone; that "never is paternal government so needful as when civilization is most advanced"—these are some of the subjects on which the intelligent little circle imagined by Sir Arthur Helps exchanges opinions, with a certain humorous, dramatic friction. It strikes out more sparks from these quasi-practical matters than when it falls to moralizing, to discussing "Ridicule," "Over-publicity," "Looking Back in Life." But, on the whole, it is very pleasant company, and most readers will regret that we are not to meet it again.

Architecture for General Students. By Caroline W. Horton. With descriptive illustrations. (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1874. 16mo, pp. 287.)—This little volume is the work of a person of some reading and some intelligence, but with not enough of either for the difficult task she took upon herself. The book shows that its author has no real acquaintance with the subject with which she deals. It is full of confusion of ideas and of metaphors. Take for example the following sentence: "Then [*i.e.*, in the early part of the XVIIIth century] began the great fermentation which culminated in a general revolution in 1848, has produced the abolition of slavery in America, and is still going on, but we trust with such accumulation of force that it may be able to untie the remaining knots of social and political life rather than resort to Alexander's method of severing them" (p. 240). Facts often fare but little better than figures with the writer. On the same page—we need not go further for an illustration—it is said: "In 1752, James Stuart began to publish the result of his labors in 'Athenian Antiquities,' while in 1796 Winckelmann gave to the world his wonderful 'History of Art.'" But the real facts are that in 1752 Stuart was still at Athens, and the first volume of his book was not published till 1761. Winckelmann's 'History of Art' appeared in 1764. On the next page there are more mistakes. In fact, the book seems as untrustworthy as it is superficial. It is not worth while exhibiting its defects at length.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Crawford (Rev. T. J.), Doctrine of Holy Scripture respecting the Atonement, 2d ed.	(Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) \$4 50
Capel (Mons.), Reply to Gladstone's Political Expatriation, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Disturnell (J.), U. S. Register; or, Blue Book for 1873	(T. Ellwood Zell)
Ellis (A. J.), Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin	(Macmillan & Co.)
Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. I. A—Ana	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Fairfield (F. G.), Ten Years with Spiritual Mediums	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Forney (M. N.), Catechism of the Locomotive	(Henry Holt & Co.) 2 50
Fraser-Tytler (C. C.), Mistress Judith; a Tale	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1 25
Frey (Prof. H.), Histology and Histochemistry of Man	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Gannett (W. C.), Extra Siles Gannett, 1824-1871	(Roberts Bros.)
Helps (Sir A.), Social Pressure	(Roberts Bros.)
Holtze (C. L.), First Lessons in Physiology	(Central Pub. Co.)
Kiepert (H.), New Wall-map of Palestine, swd.	(E. Steiner)

Kinahan (G. H.), Valleys, and their Relation to Fissures, Fractures, and Faults, swd.	(John Wiley & Son)
Ladd (Hill), The Madonna in Christian Art, swd.	(New Haven)
Prescott (W. H.), Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Vol. I.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Parkman (F.), Les Pionniers Français dans l'Amérique du Nord, swd. (F. W. Christen)	
Robinson's Junior-class Arithmetic	(Iverson, Blakeman & Co.) \$0 80
Roid (C.), Hearts and Hands, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 0 50
Russell (Lord John), Recollections and Suggestions, 1813-1873	(Roberts Bros.)
Roy (G.), Generalship: How I Managed my Husband	(Robt. Clarke & Co.) 1 00
Riddle (A. G.), Alice Brand; a Tale	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Smith (Dr. E.), Health	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Schmidt (Prof. O.), Descent and Darwinism	(D. Appleton & Co.)
The Rainbow Creed; a Tale	(W. F. Gill & Co.)
Weeden (W. B.), The Morality of Prohibitory Liquor Laws	(Roberts Bros.)
Walsingham (Charlotte), Annette; a Tale	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) 1 75
Wahl (O. W.), The Land of the Czar	(Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) 5 25
Westminster (Archbishop of), The Vatican Decrees and Civil Allegiance, swd.	(Cath. Pub. Soc.) 0 50

Fine Arts.

MADAME RISTORI.

WITH due recognition of the fact that Madame Ristori has entered into the final twilight, as we may call it, of her brilliant career, her appearance is yet incomparably the most important theatrical occurrence of the winter. Nothing that we can at present produce from our own resources is worthy of even a minute share of the consideration which people of taste feel prompted to offer this great foreign artist. One would rather this were not so; but so unfortunately it is. Madame Ristori's return to America is marked by circumstances not especially conciliatory. She is making, professionally, the circuit of the civilized world, and her *impedimenta*, of all kinds, have been selected with an eye to light weight. She reappears, too, after having bidden us farewell with some solemnity—an act in which there is always a certain awkwardness. But Madame Ristori, as an actress, is before all things stately, and her statelyness surmounts the disadvantage of a superlatively shabby *mise en scène*, a meagre company, and a somewhat surprised welcome. She apparently—probably very wisely—confines herself to a limited round of characters, and she offers us only one part in which she has not hitherto appeared. Fortunately, the parts left in her repertory are the strongest ones, and those which have done most to make her famous. She is indissolubly associated with the picturesque stage-figures of Medea and Mary Stuart, and though the strong coloring of these representations has suffered somewhat from the chill of years, they keep their place, in all essentials, among the most accomplished pieces of acting of our time. There are, indeed, things in each of them which it is safe to say the stage has never seen surpassed. Those who remember Madame Ristori twenty years ago may be conscious that here and there the execution drags a little; but young spectators should be assured that in witnessing the last act of "Mary Stuart," or certain of the great points in "Medea," they are looking at a supreme exhibition of the grand style of acting. No one whom we have seen, or are likely to see in this country, can interpret tragedy in the superbly large way of Madame Ristori—can distribute effects into such powerful masses. The abundance of her natural gifts makes the usual clever actress seem a woefully slender personage, and the extreme refinement of her art renders our most knowing devices, of native growth, unspeakably crude and puerile. Madame Ristori has the fortune to come of the great artistic race—the race in whom the feeling of the picturesque is a common instinct, and the gift of personal expression so ample that, even when quite uncultivated, it begins where our laborious attempts in the same line terminate. Coming thus of a pre-eminently expressive and demonstrative race, and watched by a peculiarly undemonstrative and impressive public—a public among whom gesture, inflection of voice, and play of feature are comparatively unknown—it is natural that Madame Ristori should seem very often to exaggerate, to grimace, to tear a passion to tatters. It is very possible, too, that playing so much in foreign countries, to audiences ignorant of her language—audiences for whom the meaning is to be driven home *vi et armis*—has had the effect of imparting to the whole method of the actress a coarseness against which the constant presence of a really critical public would have been a protest. Unfortunately, the most artistic race in the world is not able to pay largely for its pleasure, and Italian actors and singers are almost of necessity wanderers and exiles. This fact, if one reflects upon it, gives a rather melancholy background to one's admiration at the Lyceum just now. Of course, Madame Ristori, making the "farewell tour of the world," acquires fame on an immense scale and, on a somewhat commensurate scale, it is to be hoped, that grosser profit for which it smooths the way. But surely, looking at the thing the least bit from the ideal point of view, there is an essential dreariness in this great artist's expending her powers so exclusively upon populations for whom half of them are of necessity wasted. Between herself and her audience there is a gulf—a gulf which she certainly bravely does her

best to overleap, and which is kept open by no ill-will on the spectators' part, but by the inexorable difference of race, of language, of national temperament. She is judged altogether from the outside—from a distance; and as she sweeps to and fro through all the variations of her art, she seems hardly more than a sort of magnificent curiosity. The "nature" that she represents is not the nature of the house.

But Madame Ristori's great merit—a merit that abundantly covers her defects, such as they are—is one that is perhaps especially appreciable here. She has *style*. The quality is so rare upon the English-speaking stage—especially, it is painful to observe, among the actresses—that one should make the most of any suggestion of it. It is the result in Madame Ristori of a combination of fine elements—her admirable stage presence, her incomparable language, and the peculiarly *masterly* way—the firmness, the certainty, the assurance—with which she deals with her part. Her Mary Stuart is full of style: the whole manner in which the part is "composed" to the eye is one of the great things of the stage. The intellectual conception, we think, is not particularly elevated; it is the natural woman simply—the woman of temper, the woman who talks loud, who struggles, hates, revenges, who is quite untouched by what Matthew Arnold calls "sweet reasonableness." But the part is superbly worn, and the last act is rendered as no one but Madame Ristori could render it. The expression of dignity here reaches a great height. No one but Madame Ristori could manage the farewell to her weeping servants, could gather the group about her, and handle it, as one may say, with that picturesque majesty. It is realism, especially in the closing moments, of a downright pattern; but it is realism harmonized by a great artistic instinct. Madame Ristori's "Elizabeth" is, in a manner, her *cheval de bataille*, but we have

never liked the part. There are wonderfully skilful things in it, and it is an extraordinary piece of elaboration; but it is a thing made, as we say, for uncritical publics, painted with a big brush to be seen at a distance. It is better liked, probably, in New York than in Paris; it will be better liked in San Francisco than in New York, and it will make a *furor* in Australia. The objections to Madame Ristori's "Medea" are obvious: the lady is too much of a termagant—no wonder poor Jason would not go back to her. But the part is a dense tissue of superb action, and there are strokes in it—of tone, of attitude, of gesture, of facial play—any single one of which would make the fortune of a slighter artist. In "Lucrezia Borgia," which Madame Ristori plays now for the first time in America, she has not found, to our sense, a very happy opportunity. The part is a hideous one, and it has the drawback that its climax, in its pursuit of the terrible, very distinctly grazes the ludicrous. We have heard it said that the way she plays it is a proof of enfeebled vigor. It seems to us, on the contrary, that she renders it with an energy quite adequate to its demands for vehemence, but that her acting is rather wanting in *finesse*. In the long scene with the Duke, in which there is a fine chance in the way of high comedy, she has some masterly touches, but the whole thing strikes us as too high pitched, and, here and there, as rather roughly executed. We should say, too, that the last words of the play, when Lucretia has been stabbed by her son—"Gennaro, I am thy mother!"—would, as constituting its tragic consummation, be much more effective if delivered standing—discharged at him with passionate reproach. But these are details. In a general way one goes to see Madame Ristori with a serene certainty of observing a dramatic temperament of unsurpassable power, seconded by a language which gives to speech a lovely dignity, independent of its meaning.

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MACMILLAN'S "READER" (Page 106)

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